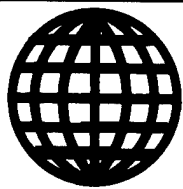


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23 OCTOBER 1990



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## **Near East & South Asia**

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# Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-90-061

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## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### Saddam, Palestinian Land-for-Loyalty Plot Alleged

91AA0001B Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic  
19 Sep 90 p 6

[From "Missiles" Column by Ibrahim al-Wardani; "Kuwait, Homeland for Palestinians!"]

[Text] Good morning.

"Missile's" diversions are biting and funny in order that they may disperse the worries. I think that there is no objection.

My friend Hasib 'Abd-al-Dayim, a master craftsman from al-Hawwarah bedouin tribe in Upper Egypt, is an old acquaintance. He was a typesetter in the print shop. I always teased him about his handsome and twirled mustache on which a roc [mythical bird of enormous size] could land without causing it to sag or droop. Years ago, Hasib went to Iraq, then to Saudi Arabia, and then to Kuwait where he settled down and did well until the catastrophe occurred. He lived in the catastrophe's inferno several days and then managed to flee. Were he destined, like me, to write and tell tales, he would, God help him, have to write a novel four times as voluminous as "A Thousand and One Nights" to tell a story as big as a million and one nights.

My friend, master craftsman Hasib, gave me a ring this morning to tell me about what he encountered in an amazing country on the hands of even more amazing people who look like human beings. But one cannot tell who among them are the demons and who the human beings! He speaks and speaks more and more about the ordeals, the catastrophes, the oppression, the kidnapping, the murders, and the amazing surprises. He hesitates and retreats when he gets to a certain personal incident he has experienced. He refuses to recount it and says that it is more terrible than the violation of one's honor! When I persisted, urging him to recount the incident because we are all human beings, he told me how he fell into the hands of a gang of Palestinians who were able to take away from him his waist belt in which he had concealed his life's savings. After the gang members did what they did, he spat in their faces, held his mustache in his fingers and said to them: I swear by this that you are nothing but doormats and tramps. They considered killing him but they then contented themselves with punishing him.

As to how they punished him, they tied him up with ropes, shaved the mustache by which he had sworn, and sat around talking and making jokes about his captured and defeated figure. They then left him tied and squatting on a sidewalk until he found somebody to untie him. He says that there were four of them, that he knows them by name, and that he will never forget their names or their appearance for as long as he lives. Had they not been armed with daggers and handguns, he would have

annihilated them and turned them into minced meat, even if there were 10 of them!

I could hear the teeth of master Hasib grinding at the memory of those doormats and tramps. Hasib gave me a ring not to complain about what he had endured but to reveal to me a serious secret that he had learned, of which he had become certain, and which he wanted me to make public to all the Arabs and to the world. A secret? Serious? Then why don't you come and visit me so that I may hear it from you clearly and in detail? No, no. I don't want you to see me carrying my disgrace and my defect with my lost mustache!

To get to the point. After a long prelude in which he prepared the way to reveal the serious secret, he asked me: Do you know what bribe Saddam Ibn-al-Tikriti promised Yasir Ibn 'Arafat if the latter supported and backed his invasion of Kuwait? After we had a profound discussion on politics, I answered (jovially): No, master. Do you? He said, and I am rephrasing what he said to make it publishable: Saddam promised Yasir that if the latter supported and backed his invasion of Kuwait, he would present Kuwait to him as a gift so that it may be a temporary homeland bringing the Palestinians together so that they may establish their government and army in Kuwait and may work from there to regain their usurped homeland, Palestine! This is the secret I want to tell you.

The funny idea which could occur to nobody's mind made me so giddy that I suppressed my laughter in order not to insult the serious confidence master Hasib was imparting to me. I asked him: Where did you learn this secret? He said: I learned it, and that is that. When I persisted, he said that he learned it from listening to his four dirty captors discussing the matter with each other. He added: You may get the irrefutable proof from the fact that every Kuwaiti home abandoned by its owners or inhabitants has been occupied by resident or newly-arrived Palestinians. Every day, thousands of new Palestinians rush to resettle in Kuwait.

Dear reader, I convey to you the serious and interesting secret imparted to me by master Hasib 'Abd-al-Dayim. You may do what I did and you may not think long or laugh hard. You will not catch up with the current developments if you ponder or if you laugh before the delusion of this bribe-giver and this bribe-taker is eliminated.

### Egyptian Calls for Saddam's Expulsion From Arab League

91AA0001C Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic  
14 Sep 90 p 5

[Editorial by Dr. Jamal-al-Din Muhammad Musa: "Arab League and Iraq's Saddam"]

[Text] Till when will the connection continue to exist between the Arab League, the Arabs' house and meeting place, and murderer Saddam Husayn, head of the gang that is in charge of Iraq's affairs?

Saddam Husayn is no longer Arab and no longer Muslim now that he has seized the State of Kuwait, the peaceful Arab and Muslim neighbor, brutally and with premeditated treachery and now that his henchmen and his gang members have plundered, looted, murdered, raped women, and tortured innocent people from various Muslim and non-Muslim nationalities.

How similar is the scenario enacted by Saddam and his gang of murderers and criminals to the scenario of U.S. gangster movies we watch on the screen. The gang spreads fear and horror in [people's] hearts, murders, plunders, and rapes so that everybody may run away and so that the assault arena may turn into a ghost town!

Saddam had skillfully planned his crime which he has executed perfectly and through which he has devoured the State of Kuwait. The Arab League has, thanks to Egypt and to the efforts of Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, been decisive and firm in condemning, denouncing, and rejecting this tyrannical oppression and in stressing that it is essential that the Iraqi forces withdraw from Kuwait completely and unconditionally.

But is this enough?

The Arab and international condemnation and condemnation by all the international organizations of the armed robbery in which Iraq engaged has not changed Saddam Husayn's behavior and has not diverted him from his disgraceful course of conduct because the glitter of the spoils he has plundered has caused him to lose his senses and has driven him mad.

Can we imagine a rapacious predator abandoning its gentle prey when it has driven its talons into this prey after a long wait?

Devilish obstinacy and arrogance fully control all of Saddam's actions, especially since some faint-hearted Arabs are, very regrettably, now promoting his crime, even dressing him in the robes of heroes for all the values and principles he has flouted and are demanding that the economic blockade be ended for fear of starving Iraq!

I wonder: With what logic do these genius Arabs fear starvation of the Iraqi people at a time when this people's armed forces have violated all international traditions, have displaced people, have plundered, and have robbed hundreds of thousands of Muslim families?

Why don't we hear clear shouts of denunciation from these color-changing Arabs against the acts of piracy perpetrated by Saddam and his gang and against the displacement, murder, plundering, and raping of Muslims even though the venerable Hadith says: "A Muslim's property, blood, and honor are prohibited to another Muslim?"

Where are the principles and where is Islam, O Arabs of the end of time?

In any case, we should thank God that the faint-hearted Arabs are a minority and that the majority of the Arab states have strongly condemned the Iraqi act of piracy.

The question is now: What comes after the condemnation?

After all that has happened, can we imagine that an Iraq led by Saddam Husayn will continue to be an Arab League member?

Can the Arab League provide a place for him who has robbed a Muslim state that is a member of the league and of other international organizations, who has looted and plundered the property of this state and of its workers, and whose men have raped Muslim women?

Saddam has disfigured the image of the Arabs, of the Muslims, and of Islam. After all this distortion of Arabism and Islam, Iraq's murderer or his representatives may not sit in the Arab League halls. An Iraq led by Saddam Husayn must be expelled from the Arab League in the worst way possible. These institutions are no meeting place for murderers, highwaymen, and pirates.

Expel Iraq from the Arab League.

This resolution must be made by the Arab League if the league respects itself and its Arabism, if it respects the teachings of Islam and the teachings of the divine religions, and if it respects international traditions and humanity's principles and values.

Firmness and decisiveness are two essentials dictated by the circumstances in order that the Arab League may be transformed into a world organization which has its usage, traditions, and esteemed entity.

In the wake of the collective condemnation of the armed robbery of Kuwait, expelling Iraq from the Arab League is a step that must be taken in order that we may eliminate from the minds of people throughout the world the ugly image Saddam Husayn has painted of Arabism and Islam—an image in which he has distorted all the compassionate and humane concepts contained in our orthodox religion.

Egypt breathed some of its spirit into the Arab League recently and injected the league with the elixir of confronting the reality decisively and of talking frankly and without beating around the bush when it took the initiative of convening in Cairo the special Arab summit which concluded with the collective condemnation of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and which has been followed by the dispatch of Arab forces to the Gulf.

To conclude, all the Arab states that have condemned Saddam's piracy must embrace the expulsion of Iraq from the Arab League because Saddam has lost his credibility as an Arab and a Muslim now that he has disavowed the deep-rooted Arab traditions and all the Islamic values and principles and that he is motivated solely by his insane ambitions and aspirations and his malicious and oppressive capability.

An Iraq led by Saddam Husayn is no longer eligible to sit in the Arab League halls.

And we are awaiting the resolution.

### **Possibilities for Initiating Hostilities Examined**

90AE0340A *London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic*

31 Aug p 21

[Article by Nash'at al-Taghlibi: "Troop Concentrations Will Not Continue to Stand Still; Mediation Depends on Iraq's Withdrawal"]

[Text] After the Islamic foreign ministers' conference, the Arab foreign ministers' conference, and the Arab Summit Conference, a call was again made to convene a meeting of the Arab League Council at the foreign minister level. All these conferences have taken place within two months—shortly before and after the Iraqi crushing of Kuwait.

While the United States' concentration of striking forces escalates day after day in the Gulf waters, and in Saudi Arabia, upon whose borders Iraqi forces are massed, and while all the world—seemingly like magic—agrees on imposing economic, military and oil sanctions against Iraq, we find certain Arab countries confused over what measures should be taken, while other nations have taken matters firmly in hand and have sent their forces to Saudi Arabia, in order to share in its defense.

The question is this: Does Iraq in fact intend to cross the Saudi border? Baghdad categorically denies that, but the Arab and European nations, especially the United States, stress that confidence in Iraq's statements has vanished completely.

The concentration of American forces in Gulf waters has reached such a level that it would be almost impossible to keep those troops from getting into action, that is to say, the matter must end in an attack on Iraq or, at the least, in a so-called "deterrent" strike against Iraq. However, Washington has emphasized on a great many occasions that it will not fire the first shot. Washington adds that its large troop concentration in Gulf waters is preventive and for the purpose of resisting the huge forces that Iraq has massed.

The story of the first shot. We recall the assurances from Israel, the United States and the Soviet Union to the late president Gamal 'Abd-al-Nasir shortly before the 1967 War that Israeli forces would not fire the first shot. Nevertheless, Egyptians woke up on the morning of 5 June 1967 to reports confirming that Israeli aircraft had destroyed nearly all Egyptian airfields, including the aircraft! Israel had not in fact fired the first shot, but it had dropped the first bomb!

The purpose of this story is not to compare 1990 with 1967, but it is to say that he who fires the first shot cannot usually control the time of firing. There is a fine line between keeping the bullet inside the rifle, and pressure on the hammer to begin the battle, for which

one has prepared a long time. This means that nothing is certain when nerves are taut, and there are mutual suspicions, and even extremely intense insults. This is especially true, if there are plans about which no one talks frankly, and which have been prepared regardless of who initiates the attack.

Some military experts are as uneasy as the Arabs. There are those who say the decisive battle will not be long delayed. The United States, which is massing its forces far from its own territory, will not for long tolerate either the climate, in which its troops are living, or shortfalls in oil, which used to glut world markets, or the oppressive expenditures that pile up every day. This is in contrast to Iraq, whose forces are still on its territory, but which is being affected by the blockade around it, subjecting all of Iraq to serious shortages of foodstuffs, as well as arms and financial resources.

However, even this possibility has become only one of many possibilities. Certain European countries differ over the question of sanctions to be imposed on Iraq, and stress that the three Security Council resolutions did not stipulate an absolute blockade that would include foodstuffs, because no one wants any country to have its people starve or be exposed to death by starvation.

There are Arab and non-Arab nations engaged in searching for a compromise to save the Gulf from the catastrophe of a destructive war which, if it starts, no one can foresee its conclusion. However, it is evident that a compromise is far from the minds of most parties involved. Nearly the entire world insists that Iraqi forces must withdraw from Kuwait, and that matters must return to the status quo of 2 August, while Iraq declares that there will be no withdrawal, and that it will not give up anything it has gained from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait!

How can these two positions be reconciled? The world, which finds itself incapable of extricating itself from what is called "a dilemma impossible to resolve," differs with regard to an answer to this question.

Meanwhile, media campaigns are intensifying between Iraq and the countries that oppose its policies and actions. The nature of all the Arab media campaigns is changing to an exchange of rumors, accusations and misgivings over intentions. Everything is painted black vis-a-vis the "hostile" party. Naturally, this kind of campaign does not help to resolve problems; on the contrary, it complicates matters further, as well as increasing nervousness. This fact has been confirmed on numerous occasions, but the Arab media is wont to reiterate over and over that "it is amazing that it will end completely when we go back to exchanging kisses. It would no longer be something!" That which is in the soul leaves its effects behind, and they continue to lurk in the soul until they are aroused from their hiding place, and once again burst forth to play their traditional role. This is something that unfortunately only occurs in Third World countries!

Last week, the PLO came out of the uncertainty, into which it had been thrown, and offered its services to present an initiative that might lead to a settlement. The Soviet Union also did something. It said that the Security Council resolutions must be implemented until the end. What end? The Russians did not clarify this. The Gulf crisis has put the Russians into a critical situation, because of their need for America on the one hand, and their wish not to have the United States acting alone in military intervention in the Gulf, even if a limited number of Western countries are participating with token movements.

However, it is clear that the proposed mediations, and those that might be proposed, will not achieve their desired results. The gap is very wide between the international and Arab desire that Kuwaiti territory must be evacuated, and Iraq's insistence on rejecting this demand.

Only Israel was following developments in the Gulf, and it is feeling boundless satisfaction. Israel has not commented on developments, and has not expressed any concern, despite its great concern. However, it has not renounced the futherance of war, whose outbreak must be—according to the statement of the newspaper DAFAR—"inevitable."

Ariel Sharon, whose thirst is only quenched by blood, sent a frank warning to the United States, calling on it not to slacken nor weaken. He said that "if Iraq continues to feel its policy and aggression has triumphed...and if the aircraft and ground-to-ground missiles (which are most frightening to Israel) continue to be secure, awaiting the moment of launch, then the Middle East and Israel will—in the near future—face difficult problems from which there might be no escape."

Therefore, Israel wants war and is urging it, because war serves its best interests. Sharon's words are being repeated by many other officials, who have volunteered to warn the United States against three things:

1. Acceptance of any settlement that permits Iraq certain concessions over what the world previously insisted upon through the Security Council resolutions;
2. Providing the Arab nations, which have opposed and continue to oppose the occupation of Kuwait, with advanced weapons that might change the military balance in the Middle East; and,
3. Permit the Soviet Union to profit from the current crisis, in order to resume its positions in certain Arab countries.

The Israeli foreign minister clearly declared Israel's opposition to the sale of any type of advanced weaponry to the Arab nations, even if those countries were demanding Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait.

Then what?

The situation in the Middle East, including the Gulf region, is still cloaked in uncertainty. Uncertainty is inevitable, whenever matters are dependent on military maneuvering. If there is some hope, it is dependent on Iraq's backing away from the occupation of Kuwait, a matter which some people call impossible, or on new actions to be taken by the Security Council, in order to achieve a goal acceptable to the two opposing sides, even if this goal appears to be impossible at the present time.

Except for this, it is hopeless. If war erupts, God alone knows how and when it will end, despite the massive power that the United States possesses!

### Western Intervention Described As 'Criminal'

91AA0010A Algiers *REVOLUTION AFRICAINE*  
in French 23 Aug 90 p 12

[Article by M.E.G.: "Gulf Crisis: American War Launched"]

[Text] The Gulf has become involved in a new crisis that may degenerate from one moment to the next into a conflagration that will have immeasurable consequences.

Thus the course of events seems to refuse to take the path of peace and calm. On the contrary, it marks the beginning of a dangerous future for the peoples of the region and everything leads us to think that the United States is preparing to go to war. It has just ordered the recall of its reservists, while the army dispatched to the area is bigger than the one that invaded Vietnam.

American military intervention in the Gulf does not seem to have a time limit placed on it. An American official has just announced that it may continue for years. Viewed thus, the presence of U.S. troops in the country of Islam's Holy Places is not far from resembling an occupation and the defense agreements recently concluded between Riyadh and Washington have been exceeded.

Consequently, this means that American military intervention in this part of the world has been dissociated from any reference to the American-Saudi accords, furthermore accords that are contradictory in principle to the articles of association of the Arab League. It has taken on all the characteristics of an act of war, independent of any notion of "protection of America's Saudi ally."

Be that as it may, this dangerous game the United States is playing is not in itself anything new. It is a constant of its behavior that is, when necessary, disobedient to international law, for which latter it has always wanted to see leave the domain of contradiction and compromise to legalize its henceforth uncontested hegemony. This country feels that it is invested with the mandate of a police chief, this role of an international policeman that it is still trying to maintain in the Gulf and that has



aroused the anger of the popular masses everywhere in the Arab world and support for the people of Iraq.

The armed presence of the Americans is basically an expression of this blind belief that they serve as the world's policeman which, on the other hand, compels them to drag all the Western countries into their criminal adventure against the people of Iraq. For what is actually happening in the Gulf is a war that has already begun, despite the Security Council's "ban."

Actually, in preparing to make use of force when Iraq has removed its troops from the Saudi front, the United States has every intention of not asking for the authorization of the Security Council, the only agency with the power to decide on the use of force to ensure the maintenance of peace (Chapters VII and VIII and Article 94 of the UN Charter). The sound of "marching boots" apparently signals the beginning of an attack on Saddam Husayn's Iraq, which the very same United States is trying to strangle economically elsewhere.

One of the most serious of actions, this decision of the Americans follows a deviation from Resolutions 660, 661, and 662 adopted by the Security Council, which recommend only a boycott of Iraq at the most, that is, an embargo consisting of a simple provision for the banning of a certain number of products, particularly supplying Iraq with arms and ammunition. Now, the Americans have gone much too far. In violation of the UN resolutions, they are imposing a veritable blockade on Iraq. They are threatening to fire on any ship at all "that violates the boycott measures decided on by the Security Council." Gaining ground, the restrictions on commercial shipping in this region are constantly growing in importance to become akin to a blockade in the full sense of the word (Article 41 of the UN Charter). An act of hostility par excellence, a blockade—which is also an extreme measure that can only be decided on by the Security Council—consists of imposing a quarantine and cutting off any link between the country that is a victim of it and the outside world. This act of war is in fact a veritable declaration of economic war. In the Gulf it is, in a way, only an extension of the "war" that the reigning families of the kingdoms and emirates have been waging for several years now against many other Arab countries attached to their independence and which, in its underhanded ferocity, culminated in the drastic and deliberately provoked drop in hydrocarbon prices in 1985.

In terms of its origin, the Gulf conflict, along with Iraq's condemnable invasion of Kuwait, smells of "classes." It is the expression of a sort of revolt by Arab peoples, impoverished by their [Kuwaiti, etc.] wealth, against the utilization of Arab Croesuses' assets by Western banks, which are strangling them one after another. Fundamentally, it is the manifestation of a crack in the predominant Arab debate over an "Arab Nation," more utopian than hard to build. It is, to tell the whole truth, the noisy and bloody exposure of the multiform antagonisms that make up and paralyze the Arab world.

### **Palestinian in Egypt Reportedly Attacks 'Arafat Stance**

*91AA0001A Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic  
16 Sep 90 p 12*

[From "Dividing Lines" Column by Samir Rajab]

[Text] Palestinians have disagreed over Yasir 'Arafat's personality for a long time and many of them have opposed him secretly and openly, have criticized his actions and his conduct, and have attacked his contradictory positions.

Now that 'Arafat has contributed to killing the Palestinian cause with Saddam Husayn's help, more pain has been heaped upon the Palestinians.

I have received a message from a Palestinian living in Egypt in which he declares his opinion of Yasir 'Arafat frankly:

In my capacity as a Palestinian who has lived most of my life in Egypt where I received my education in a country that has opened its arms to me as Kuwait opened to me its doors of livelihood, of kindness, of friendship, and of sympathy, I find myself depressed over the developments taking place around us—developments that tear the heart and bloody the soul.

What intensifies my torture and perplexity is the PLO's regrettable and painful position toward the current developments. Even though I am not a writer and not an eloquent speaker, I have found myself compelled to express my feelings, and I am confident that they are the feelings of the overwhelming majority of the struggling Palestinian people who have lost the model now that their leadership has swerved from the right path and has gone breathlessly pursuing fallen illusions and apparitions or cheap personal ambitions.

I declare here as loudly as I can that supporting the aggression of Iraq's murderer against Kuwait is no less criminal than the aggression itself. Such support does not under any circumstance represent the Palestinians long-range, or even immediate, interests. I hasten to remind the PLO's heedless leaderships of the following historical facts perhaps they may arise from this abasement to which they have descended, may proceed to the right path, and may acknowledge kindness with gratitude instead of resorting to ingratitude:

Perhaps Yasir 'Arafat has not forgotten that the martyred Shaykh Fahd al-Ahmad al-Sabah was among the first to join Fatah Movement and to personally participate in the armed struggle side by side with 'Arafat since the start of the organization's activity. It is unimaginable that the PLO will disavow history and support the assassination of this hero, as well as the assassination of Kuwait in its entirety.

Perhaps Yasir 'Arafat has not forgotten that Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Sabah, Kuwait's crown prince, was the man who saved 'Arafat's life by smuggling him out of

Jordan on a Kuwaiti Airways plane heading for Cairo during the [1970] black September events.

Perhaps 'Arafat has not forgotten the positions of Shaykh Sabah Ahmad al-Sabah, Kuwait's foreign minister, and his constant support for the PLO, considering that he was one of the first to support and recognize creation of the state of Palestine, not to mention the shaykh's role in the departure of the resistance factions, including Yasir 'Arafat himself, from Lebanon during Israel's violent war against the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon.

Perhaps he has not forgotten the Kuwaiti amir's and people's unfailing and unchanging positions of material support for the Palestinians, whether inside Kuwait where they found ample means of livelihood, prominent literary positions, security, and safety, or outside Kuwait and throughout the world.

Moreover, all the Gulf states stood like one man in recognizing the state of Palestine, in supporting it with all the means, in allowing its embassies to open from the outset, and in treating it the way major powers are treated.

How can Yasir 'Arafat forget the positions of leader Muhammad Husni Mubarak and of Egypt, the mother of all Arabs, toward the Palestinian struggle and the Palestinian cause in the international lobbies. I need not point out Egypt's struggle and sacrifices throughout more than 40 years. What is more, Egypt continues to open its arms, its markets, its schools, and its universities to all Palestinians. This is something which the richest countries have been unable to do.

On this basis and in light of the long history of all kinds of support, backing, and aid which we see the Palestinian leaderships disavowing, I declare with the loudest free Palestinian voice that the Palestinian people do not truly support their leadership's despicable policy and do not at all accept this treacherous aggression against the Kuwaiti people.

How I wish that the Arab leaders would not hold the Palestinians accountable for their leadership's actions and that they would reduce this leadership to its true size now that it no longer represents the Palestinian people or tends their legitimate rights or the future of their cause—a cause which it has put in the eye of the storm without any sound appreciation or vigilant consideration of the movement of developments in the region and in the entire world.

To conclude, this is a Palestinian voice rising in the days of the horrible silence to declare the free Palestinian people's true sentiments and tendencies.

Mustafa Abu-'Ayshah

I publish the message with no comment.

Samir Rajab

### Center Publishes Study on Changes in Arab World

91P40012A London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic  
17 Sep 90 p 33

[Text] The new September 1990 issue of AL-MUSTAQBAL AL-'ARABI, Number 139, has been issued by the Arab Unity Studies Center. It contains a study on "World Changes and Their Reflections on the Arab Homeland" prepared by Jasim Muhammad 'Abd-al-Ghani, an article about "Learning From European Experience in Building Maghreb Unity" written by (Abdellatif Benashnahu), and a study on "Transformations in the Socialist Bloc and the Arab Communist Movement: The Example of the Moroccan Socialist Progressive Party."

The issue also contains an economic series on "The Arab State's Experience With the Public and Private Sectors" comprised of three studies presented during a seminar on the topic organized by the Arab Unity Studies Center: the first on Egypt's experience prepared by researchers Ibrahim Sa'd-al-Din 'Abdallah and Ibrahim al-'Isawi; the second by ('Awadi) 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Hammud; and the third on Tunisia's experience by Chadli (Layari).

In the following section on books, the issue includes a review of Dina Jalal's book "American Aid for Whom: Egypt or America?" prepared by Wahid 'Abd-al-Majid, a brief calendar on Arabic unity, and a bibliography on Arab unity.

### EGYPT

#### Writer Sees Bush's Speech to Iraq as Lost Opportunity

91P40003A Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic  
18 Sep 90 p 5

[Editorial by Naji Qamhah]

[Text] American President Bush has lost a great historical opportunity to win the support of millions of Arabs who still doubt the extent of the U.S. commitment to the principle of rejecting occupation and not permitting seizure of the territories of others.

Some optimists were expecting Bush to seize the opportunity of his directly televised speech to the Iraqi people by at least slightly indicating the commitment of his country to applying the principle of rejecting occupation to cases identical to what is being seen in Kuwait, such as Israeli occupation of Lebanese, Syrian and Palestinian territories.

But in his address to an Arab people, Bush ignored the issue of Israeli occupation, despite the fact that the main reason for instability in the Arab region overall—with the Arabs being ceaselessly obligated to be ready to respond to repeated Israeli aggression—is due to [the Arabs'] right, like the rest of the world's people, to

develop their own country and enjoy their own wealth free from any foreign intervention in their affairs or any threat of aggression on their territory.

This is the real issue for the Arabs. If the United States is sincere in helping them get out of the "pit" of Kuwait, then first it must be sincere in helping them get out of the "well" of Israel.

### **Media Criticized for Pro-Western, Subjective Coverage**

90AA0339A Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 22 Aug 90 p 7

[Article by Sayyid al-Khimar and Ghadah al-'Arabi]

[Text] Media and press experts agree that the media's treatment of the gulf crisis has been far from objective and has not provided an information service to either the public or policymakers. Some experts even think that the media has exacerbated disagreements among Arabs and promoted excuses for the American invasion.

### **Muhammad 'Awdah: The National Press Is a Paid Advertising Supplement**

We do not have a national press. Instead, we have third-class government propaganda publications. I would almost call them feverish, paid advertising supplements. It suffices to compare a respected, or hostile, American, British, or French newspaper to realize how great the difference is.

The press, especially during hot crises, presents news and facts objectively and accurately. It presents all of the different views and basic elements so that citizens can make conscious judgements and choices to their satisfaction. The press cannot obscure, exaggerate, tarnish, or change sides overnight. There is nothing worse than the television and the radio broadcast. It is enough to say that at least 90 percent of citizens listen day and night to all broadcasts, except for Radio Cairo!

### **'Abd-al-Warith al-Dasuqi: The Reader Has Lost Confidence in the Media**

I have not heard the Iraqi media. However, the Egyptian media has reached the limit of offensiveness and backwardness. It is assumed that we do not favor one side over another. However, our media has not risen to the challenge posed by the serious predicament we are experiencing, and that applies to national and party newspapers alike. By party newspapers, I mean the Wafd's newspaper.

As a result, the reader is losing confidence in the domestic media and shifting that confidence to the foreign media and foreign broadcasts.

### **Kamil Zuhayri: The Egyptian Media Is Deceiving Public Opinion**

The Egyptian Media is torn, because it is not taking into account public opinion. Rather it is striving to deceive it.

Rhetorical language and verbal embellishments are ringing out. Once they were called beautiful style. Now they are detestable. Instead of aiding decisionmaking by formulating scenarios and expectations that warn of the seriousness of the economic, military, and political circumstances, the media is attacking and creating an atmosphere of hatred among Arabs that impedes decisionmaking. The union has issued a communique calling for the calming of the tension. However, it is strange that they say one thing in the union and another outside it. The Arab Federation of Journalists is participating in the crisis and the attack, and it is not offering anything. Where is sensible conduct? I am amazed by the pens that attack Arabs and Arabism. What will these pens do when friendly relations are restored between brothers, which is inevitable?

Kamil Zuhayri links the preceding with the reader's loss of confidence in the Egyptian media. He points out that the Arab media still suffers from centralized subordination, and engages only in praise and slander, as if in a verbal campaign. The Arab media cannot be compared to the foreign media, which provides a service, analyses, and studies.

### **Dr. Fu'ad Zakariya: Paid Advertising**

The Egyptian media is marred by a serious fault, which is the exploitation of events to highlight President Mubarak's role and the extent of the world's admiration of his wisdom. This is accompanied by the appearance of large announcements paid for by private and governmental organizations. This is trivial and amounts to a cheap handout. Although I believe that President Mubarak's handling of the crisis has to a large degree been correct and sound, it would be more honorable for President Mubarak to let the people appreciate him in silence rather than at the media's prodding.

### **Aminah Shaiq: The Days of al-Sadat Have Returned**

I had believed that we had moved away from the days of al-Sadat and the shameful remarks we used to read. However, regrettably, one who follows what the media is disseminating regarding the gulf crisis discovers at first sight a loss of objectivity in the media's treatment of events. Also lacking is a practical appraisal of the situation that highlights the reasons for the crisis, such as the absence of democracy in the Arab world, and the Arab governments' squandering of money and human resources in wars, military adventures, and other foolhardy ventures. These reasons place the blame on everyone for the deterioration of conditions to the level of armed confrontation between Arabs.

There is no desire to explain this to the people, as is apparent regarding the current crisis between Kuwait and Iraq. Rather, the media makes you feel that Egypt and Iraq are in a state of war. This has a significant impact on public opinion, which feels confused, because of the attempts to infuse it with information and to mobilize it in a specific direction with unconvincing

methods. The media has become diversified, and foreign broadcasts are widespread in Egypt. Most of the people listen to them, and this causes confusion in public opinion and a loss of confidence in what our media offers.

Regrettably, this can be attributed primarily to the influence of policymaking on the media.

**Dr. 'Awatif 'Abd-al-Rahman: Our Press Is Subordinate to the West**

The way in which our press has dealt with the gulf crisis is not new to us. The Egyptian media is subordinate to the West. The West is seeking to escalate the situation, and it does not take into account the welfare of the peoples of the region, or even the welfare of the rulers themselves.

I feel grief when I read the newspapers, because, although a war has yet to be declared, our media is striving to mobilize the people in support of a war. This is exactly what the Western countries want in order to lay the ground for their declaration of a war against Iraq. Our press does not take into account the victims that will pay the price of the rulers' errors.

I do not know whose interest is served by the positions being taken by some opposition newspapers. Is this purely a matter of journalistic agitation? I do not believe so. Everyone knows that press campaigns must serve a specific purpose. In the current crisis, what these newspapers are publishing serves neither the future nor present of the Arab nation.

Although I do not want to compare our press and the Western media, I am compelled to do so. The American press and foreign broadcasts provide information, analyses, and news through which poisons are slipped in. However, they do so in a way that at least guarantees the reader's confidence in what they present and his ability to analyze it himself. Unfortunately, our media has moved away from the national movement and national aspirations, and it has associated itself with the goals and interests of the West.

**Husayn Fahmi: Brainwashing Disaster**

The secret of the disaster is that technological advancements and rapid communications caused an escalation of the tension and the deterioration of relations between Egypt and Iraq. I warn of the criminal consequence for the Egyptian and Iraqi peoples of launching military and media battles between brothers. Formally, the media influenced ideas. Now, the media is producing insights and ideas, and it publishes political concepts.

I fear the danger of the Arab media's entry into the American and Zionist colonialist plan, which controls 80 percent of communications agencies in the world. International news agencies broadcast only 10 percent [of what is broadcast]. Imperialism and Zionism monopolize the rest of it. I call for the cessation of the untruthful

media campaigns that are being waged by both the Egyptian and Iraqi information agencies. I do so out of fear of the destruction of the dream of Arab unity for which we live, the loss of consciousness, and the forgery of Arab rationality. The Arab peoples are not to blame for the absence of democracy, even regarding media policy. The principles of human rights warn against the falsification of information and news. Prohibition of such falsification is a human right. Anything less is called "brainwashing."

**Salah al-Din: Destruction and Sabotage!!**

What is happening is the sabotaging of the Arab intellect. It is clear that the media battles between supporters and opponents of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait have become a bad habit that manifests its in crises. Feverish talk is eliminating a sense of what is true and what is false. In the end, dreams are destroyed in broad daylight. Arab unity has collapsed because of the media campaigns waged by ruling regimes in Arab states without exception. When Iraq invaded Iran, the Egyptian media applauded and supported Iraq. Disregarding our own condemnation of the invasion of Kuwait, [we must point to the hypocrisy of the Egyptian media]. Its pens have now launched a vicious campaign against the invasion of Kuwait, although an invasion is an invasion. Newspapers have lost their credibility with youths. Youths no longer trust what is written in the newspapers. Only a few months ago, the press praised Saddam, saying that he lived and studied in Egypt. The same pens are now writing that he is a Hitler. The entire world is tending toward the peaceful resolution of problems, whereas we, the Arabs, have regressed a hundred years in addition to the hundred years by which we lagged originally. Thus, the difference between the Arabs and Europe, which is heading toward full unity in 1992, now amounts to two centuries. Even the countries on our African continent are moving towards peaceful methods.

**IRAQ**

**Kurdish Party Supports Unification With Kuwait**

90AE0337B Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic  
24 Aug 90 p 6

[Article: "Kurdistan Revolutionary Party Members and Cadres in Irbil. Full Readiness To Defend Iraq-Kuwait Merger"]

[Text] The members, cadres, and supporters of the third chapter of the Kurdistan Revolutionary Party [KRP] in Irbil Province proclaimed their voluntary service and readiness to defend the merger between Iraq and Kuwait and to fight the invading American and Zionist forces that have desecrated the land of the Najd and the Hijaz.

This was announced in the expanded seminar held by the party's third chapter and attended by party secretary, Mr. Majid Rashid Jabbari, central committee members, and the KRP politburo to discuss the dimensions of the

current phase our struggling country is going through as a result of the most repugnant imperialist and Zionist assault to which it is being subjected with the aim of undermining its revolution and national sovereignty, and the tasks our Kurdish masses must assume to resist this assault which is led by America and its allies and collaborators, including the Arab nation's traitors like the charlatan Fahd, ruler of the Najd and the Hijaz.

During the seminar, the party's secretary called upon party members to mobilize all powers and capabilities to foil the aggressive schemes, to rally around President Saddam Husayn's streaming flag, and to respond to his excellency's appeal to Iraqi women to rationalize consumption with a view to denying the enemies the opportunity to hurt us and achieving a final and decisive victory. The party masses blessed the Iraq-Kuwait merger that has returned the branch to the source and terminated the rule of the al-Sabah family which has been laid to rest forever.

#### **Agricultural Sector Responds to Economic Embargo**

90AE0337A Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic  
27 Aug 90 p 7

[Article by 'Abbas Mahdi al-Hadidi: "AL-THAWRAH With Farmers in Their Fields. Iraqi Women Farmers Respond to President Saddam Husayn's Appeal to Rationalize Consumption"]

[Text] In adversity and when misfortune strikes, when injustice becomes exacerbated, and when malice besets the truth, the faithful look deep into history to stimulate benevolent action. They call upon the values of faith in their hearts, they draw their swords to fight all evil with total faith, and they shed their comfortable and leisure garb to don their work suits to save the price of a bullet that pierces the rotten hearts that are full of rancor, hatred, and antipathy.

And just as the men today are entrenched in the barricades of Arab right, holding onto their rifles with their fingers always on the trigger while they look with their piercing eyes through the crack and sight to direct every bullet right at the enemy's heart, the farmers and growers have rolled up their sleeves to plant every inch of our good land to do their part from their positions in providing food for the people and to foil the economic blockade America and its henchmen have imposed on our steadfast Iraq by working day and night and personifying the slogan "farming is lasting petroleum."

Through a tour amidst some farm families, we saw faces brimming with joy, determination, and resolve, proving to the whole world that no matter how long the enemies persist in their aggressive ways, the people, who are led by the symbol and hero, Saddam Husayn, are invincible and the land that brought them to life will continue to give good food in accordance with the Koranic verse: "As for the good land, its vegetation cometh forth by

permission of its Lord, while as for that which is bad, only evil cometh forth (from it)." [Koran, 7:58]

#### **Braced for Hardships**

Our first conversation was with Hajj 'Ubayd Muz'in 'Abbas, who, despite his 70 years, exudes vitality, energy, and confidence in the ability of Iraq and its leader and people to overcome hardships and achieve victory. He said that President Saddam's statements overflowed with power, courage, ability, and faith in God and in the people to chase away and ostracize these scheming and frustrated aggressors should they try their luck at attacking our country. God said: "And when thou are resolved, then put thy trust in Allah." [Koran, 3:159] It is from such resolve and firm determination that we draw our strength and seek to translate his excellency's guidelines into a work plan for us. That is why we have braced ourselves for hardships and are not frightened by the economic blockade America is trying to impose on us. We shall make every inch of our land, from Zakhu to the coastal city of al-Nida', abound with wealth. To attain the required production level, I call upon my brother farmers and growers to double their efforts and care for the land that the harder one works the more it yields. I also call upon all farm families to give up luxury and comfort because the circumstances our country is going through require all zealous Iraqis to employ all their familial capabilities in raising agricultural production to achieve food self-sufficiency for our people and to exercise self-reliance to meet the family's need for eggs, meat, and fats by raising cattle and poultry without needing the rations the central markets allocate for the people. The time has come to tighten the belt and it is time we proved to the enemies before friends that we are a nation that is not intimidated by the rumblings of the atheistic infidels and their henchmen, the likes of the Satan of the Najd and Hijaz who is hiding under the cover of the Custodian of the Two Holy Places to conceal his corruption and depravity. To these agents we say that God's will grinds steadily, and the despots will come to know what their final destiny will be.

#### **Expanding Farm Area**

Farmer Ibrahim Muz'in said that the only response to the enemies' false accusations and their so-called economic blockade is to increase production and expand the farming area whereby not a single inch is left uncultivated. We must also be aware of the aims and goals of the biased rumors circulated by venal propaganda; we must seek God's help and protection; we must be composed and avoid hoarding foodstuffs at home; and we must rationalize consumption and cut spending at a rate that would satisfy our basic needs for food and clothing. In this way, which President Saddam Husayn affirmed in his appeal to the illustrious Iraqi women, we would have directed a destructive blow to our enemies who are lying in waiting for the opportunity to weaken us and sow dissension in our ranks, and we would have achieved the president's aspiration of being a nation that produces more than it can eat and reap more than it sows,

especially since God Almighty has blessed us with good land and plenty of water. We would have also done our share to secure the people's strength, and great is the man who devotes his efforts to the service of his people. We must also be soldiers ready to go to the battlefield and men willing to work the land and irrigate it with their sweat so that Iraq may remain a green oasis providing shelter for the weary and honorable people who have the greatest love for the homeland as the epitome of honor and dignity and a radiance bursting with a promising life.

Comrade Husayn 'Ubayd described the Americans' bragging about their so-called economic blockade against Iraq as hot air in a net, saying that their mean conspiracies will end in smoke because they forget or pretend to forget that the Iraqis tie their fate to the land because it is the source of wealth and production and the model of dignity, sovereignty, identity and the future. It is not an overstatement to say that when they heard Saddam Husayn's appeal, the whole lot of farmers and growers began tightening their belts and got ready for extensive farming with a view to raising, diversifying and upgrading production by using modern scientific methods, such as machinery, equipment, improved seeds, fertilizer, and modern irrigation methods in a way that conserves the soil's fertility and continued production.

#### Following Events

It is a source of pride that Iraqi farmers became aware of what goes on around them. They follow events very closely, listen to the advice of the competent agricultural authorities, follow modern farming methods that save them much effort and time, employ their family's capabilities to expand the farming area to its limits, raise poultry and cattle and make fodder, help dairy centers with their products, and support the local market with agricultural products such as fruit and vegetables. This means that farmers have made great headway in the production process and are well aware of how much the country needs their hard work that has doubled considering the decision to raise the price the government pays for agricultural products that has been adopted by our historic leadership, headed by President and Commander Saddam Husayn, to raise the farmers' standard of living and motivate others to work hard and produce to serve the great Iraq and its proud people.

#### Aggression, a Conspiracy

At another location, we met farmer Hadi 'Alwan who began his conversation by saluting the return of the branch to the source to extend the land of the powerful and capable Iraq from Zakhu to the sea. He said: "We know that what must infuriate imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction, represented by the number one agent, Fahd, is the scientific and civilizational progress Iraq has attained and the complete victory it achieved after eight years of war. Accordingly, we find that the American aggression against Iraq was not a spur-of-the-moment

decision, but rather a conspiracy America and Israel carefully hatched with the blessings of the ruler of the Najd and the Hijaz in an attempt to weaken Iraq militarily and economically and to extinguish the flame of the Arab awakening the Arab masses have long dreamed of achieving. Today, the nation's traitors reveal their bad metal, throwing themselves into the arms of foreigners and their frantic attempts to impose an economic blockade against our people who have given precious blood to safeguard Arab honor against the enemies' dirty deeds. But we say from the bottom of our hearts, that so long as Iraq has the audacious hero Saddam Husayn, backed by the people's masses who are bearing arms in one hand to defend the homeland and a sack in the other hand to provide food for the fighting people, the conspiracy will be buried in its cradle. Therefore, we will turn things around and convert this conspiracy into an added victory through the unity and solidarity of the farmers and the growers who are convinced that the road to glory and dignity starts with a strong will and determination to cultivate the land to attain self-sufficiency. We enjoin every farm family to raise more cattle to provide for its personal needs. This is an economic way that prompts every family to economize and not to spend money. So, to hell with Bush and his infantile wranglings and frantic attempts, and well done to the leader and symbol Saddam Husayn and his magnanimous and blessed soldiers."

The children of farmer Hadi 'Alwan—Jabbar, Sabbar, Ghanim and Salih—pointed out that God Almighty gave mankind brains to put to good use and cultivating the land is the primary blessing God has bestowed upon humanity. Therefore, just as a father cares for his children, the land must be tended and cared for because greater care yields money, education, esteem, and power for which men make sacrifices as the model of honor and manhood. Accordingly, we promise our great leader, Saddam Husayn, to turn the land of Iraq into a green oasis, blossoming with eternal victory and giving the illustrious Iraqi people all the fruits and vegetables they need and enjoy and to unite our efforts in cultivating every inch of our good land while making great efforts to rationalize consumption so that Iraq's victory may be protected by God and Iraq may forever raise its head high with honor and glory, no matter how hard the enemy and its henchmen try to undermine our growing capability.

#### Standing United

Farmer Husayn 'Alwan says that the danger surrounding our country requires us to stand united like a well-constructed building in the face of the reactionary, Zionist, imperialist attack and to devote all our energies and capabilities to the service of our forever-victorious Iraq. Therefore, my children, Husayn, Sattar and Haytham and I have decided to respond to President Saddam Husayn's direct appeal by ploughing every inch of land, and we have prepared all the farming requirements to do our part in providing for our people's need for agricultural foodstuffs. Every honorable Iraqi should

tighten his belt and make an added effort to support the truth, for no good comes from those who do not sacrifice for the sake of great Iraq or who do not plant food for the people.

Therefore, our religious, national, and patriotic duty enjoins us to search for new ways to double our agricultural production and to cultivate every arable area, summer and winter. I call upon all farm families to be aware of their present circumstances and to rationalize their consumption immediately because the enemies' plans for a military confrontation have been frustrated, and they are trying to bring us to our knees through their so-called economic blockade. But they will not succeed so long as our arms, with God's help, are strong and indefatigable: "And say (unto them): Act! Allah will behold your actions, and (so will) His messenger and the believers." [Koran, 9:105]

We then moved to another farm family, that of farmer Nayif 'Abbas who pointed out that the Iraqis were well prepared for the reactionary American-Zionist aggression, especially in view of the clear victory the Iraqi soldiers scored at the Eastern Gate and the military industrialization's sophisticated scientific accomplishments that turn the balance of power in favor of the Arab nation and its honorable people, thus prompting the imperialist circles, with the help of the Satan of the Najd and the Hijaz, to carry out the conspiracy in an attempt to undermine the Iraqi's courage and ability, turning to cowardly methods to impose the economic blockade against Iraq and its people. We want to tell them, however, that we will never allow them to achieve their aggressive ends, for Iraq has growing resources that will last us for many long years to come so long as our arms are strong and able to bear arms in one hand and a sack in the other hand.

#### **Illustrious Female Farmers and Rationalization of Consumption**

Mrs. Umm-Basin (his wife) said that the illustrious Iraqi women should assume their familial responsibilities and translate President Saddam Husayn's guidelines to rationalize consumption, help their husbands at home and in the fields, raise more poultry and cattle to augment production, support our national economy, and break the economic blockade America has imposed against our people.

Farmer Hasan 'Ali Mahmud joined the conversation, saying: "President Saddam Husayn's appeal to the illustrious Iraqi women to rationalize consumption, cut spending, and save on food and clothing to emphasize that Iraqi women can play a major role because they have ways to cut spending and rationalize consumption. Thus, our duty as farmers, is to double our efforts and continue to work day and night to increase production and attain self-sufficiency, not only for the family but for the fellow citizens as well. This requires us to stand together and cooperate to cultivate the land that has been neglected by its owners for one reason or another and

calls upon the farmer to renounce greed and monopoly and to think of frugality as a precious treasure so that Iraq may continue to stand up to the despicable conspiracy aimed at bringing the Iraqis to their knees through the so-called economic blockade, led by America with the cooperation of the ruler of the Najd and the Hijaz. We are confident that evil will positively come to naught and truth will triumph.

#### **Doing Our Best**

Farmer Umm-Hadi and her daughter, Sa'diyah, said that President Saddam Husayn's appeal to the Iraqi female farmer is a tribute to all Iraqi women and a medal of honor that prompts us to do everything we can to live up to our leadership's expectations. Therefore, it is the Iraqi female farmer's duty to work with her brothers, either in the field or in cattle and poultry raising and to rationalize consumption and take only what she and her family need because waste is contrary to the Koranic verse: "God loveth not the squanderers." Accordingly, Iraqi women are called upon as a patriotic duty to preserve and increase the country's wealth to face the reactionary American-Zionist danger.

### **ISRAEL**

#### **Quality of Israel Radio's Arabic Service Examined**

*90AE0320A Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 31 Aug 90  
p3B*

[Interview with Edmond Suhayiq, director of the Voice of Israel in Arabic by correspondent Ilana Baum; date, place not given]

[Text] The Iraqis are making great efforts to disrupt the broadcasts of Voice of Israel in Arabic, not only in times of crisis, but during regular periods, as well. The reason is simple: The Voice of Israel broadcasts have high listenership and credibility throughout the Arab states.

Edmond Suhayiq, director of the Voice of Israel in Arabic, laughs when one attempts to discuss the disruption of his broadcasts with him. His radio has strong transmitters. Three in medium wave, two in short wave, and they are all directed toward Iraq. Today, it is possible to receive the Voice of Israel in a number of places on the frequency, without any special effort.

In a listenership survey conducted a number of years ago by the Iraqi ministry of education, Israel was rated in fourth place among the foreign stations, after the BBC and Kuwait radio. These are good statistics for whom ever wishes to provide the Iraqis with information on what is happening in their field.

According to Suhayiq, the news report must be objective and devoid of appeals. This is a cold and calculated interest, because if the scales were tipped, sooner or later they would be exposed.



Emil Hazal, a news magazine producer, is aware of the thin line he treads. Hazal, born in the Rami village in the north, is married to an Arab from Jerusalem and lives in one of the Arab neighborhoods in Jerusalem. His neighbors treat him with respect. They understand that he is a journalist and that this is his job. They have never claimed that he serves the Zionists, but he is aware that he could easily slip. He is not the only one—approximately 40 percent of the employees of the Arabic radio are Arabs.

It is impossible, however, to relate to the broadcasts of the Israeli radio and television in Arabic merely as an instrument of communication. The two media are considered part of the information alignment of the State of Israel. There are no direct propaganda broadcasts, however; these were terminated approximately six years ago. So, there was no direct appeal to the Iraqi people to revolt, and they do not directly discredit Saddam. Edmond Suhayiq admits that consideration is being given to the possibility of producing such a broadcast or, alternately, a special commentary corner directed toward the Iraqis.

[Suhayiq] We have a double responsibility. In the Arab countries we are perceived as representatives of the official Israeli position. Therefore, we must not talk nonsense. Everything that we say here is recorded and is likely to cause a chain reaction.

[Ilana Baum] From the yes, you actually understand the no, from the absolute commitment to the official Israeli position, a number of things stem from here. For example, if a demonstration is held in the territories in support of Saddam Husayn, the demonstration will receive extremely modest coverage, without live voices from the scene. Talk against Saddam will be emphasized here.

[Suhayiq] I do not let those being interviewed create propaganda for the PLO or anti-Israeli propaganda here. If there is a demonstration in support of the PLO or Saddam, the people residing in Nablus or in Hebron know about it; this is their reality. For them, this is not news, because they did it and they know about it. From my perspective, the broadcast of such things is the broadcast of incitement, and I am prevented from doing so by law.

On the other hand, vital information about curfews, arrests, and those injured in the intifadah will be broadcast. The correspondent covering the territories, 'Isam Abu-Dawli, from the village of Yarka said: "We are likely to pay dearly for every name, every event that we are not specific about in the report. Residents of the territories, the shock committees and whoever is involved in the matter call to report, give information, and follow the report extremely closely."

On the initiative of the deputy foreign minister, Bin-yamin Netanyahu, people from the Voice of Israel in Arabic are brought up to date twice a week in the situation room of the foreign ministry.

To date, the objective of the broadcasts was to lower the level of confrontation, because Israel's official policy is to announce to all that it is not interested in a confrontation in the Gulf and that it has no part in it.

Menashe Somekh and 'Ezra Shirazi deal with the commentary broadcasts. According to the same line, they do not attack the Iraqi people, but concentrate on emphasizing Saddam's weaknesses: the dictatorship that he led, the isolation that he brought upon Iraq, the error that he made in the war with Iran, etc.

One of the measures of the effectiveness of the broadcasts is the hundreds of letters that arrive every week to the broadcast "The Mail Box". Lately, most of the letters deal with the crisis. In a letter that arrived from Iraq, the question was presented: "Why were severe steps not taken against Israel after the Six Day War when it captured territories, while Iraq is being heavily pressured for the capture of Kuwait?" The reply of the Voice of Israel, heard in all of the Arab states: "We were victorious in a war of existence that was forced upon Israel. The two things are not at all similar".

It is difficult to know if the words are indeed convincing. A journalist from East Jerusalem said: "In the Arab streets, people admire radio and do not know how they arrive at all the sources of information. The Voice of Israel in Arabic has high credibility in terms of news broadcasts, but the broadcasts are not liked from the political perspective. When I say the political perspective, I refer to commentary broadcasts at 10:30 in the morning and at 16:30, immediately following the news. They say things there that people do not like to hear. Sometimes, during these broadcasts, things are said against Iraq, but the people here support Saddam Husayn because he is the strongest. In this political corner, because radio is against Iraq, it sometimes enhances the Saudi king. They say he is a very good king and that everything is fine there—and many people here think that this is not true."

[Ilana Baum] Which do people believe more—the Voice of Israel or Iraq radio? The journalist answered, "Iraq radio is very hard to receive. Only sometimes can it be heard. But [people] do not believe them at all. Everyone knows that radio belongs to the president. They know that there are lies that they broadcast and that what is true is not broadcast. In all the Arab states television and radio belong to the government, not like in Israel. Here, in Israel, I can say anything on the radio I wish against the prime minister. Over there, there is no such thing."

## LEBANON

### Education Minister on Iqlim al-Tuffah, National Issues

90AE0329A London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic  
17 Aug 90 pp 20-21

[Interview with 'Umar Karami, Minister of Education:  
"Minister Karami Tells AL-HAWADITH: 'The Conflict



in Iqlim al-Tuffah Is an Attempt by Iran To Become a Player in the Middle East Game;" date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Attorney 'Umar Karami, minister of education, said that the explosive status of Iqlim al-Tuffah was having a major impact on the quest for a solution to the Lebanese crisis. "These events did not take us by surprise because we who are in the government were expecting them. Although we tried, we did not succeed in preventing these events."

Karami affirmed that the conflict in Iqlim al-Tuffah could be a prelude to the settlement of Palestinians in Lebanon and an attempt by Iran to claim a stake in south Lebanon and to hold all of south Lebanon hostage so that it can become a player in the Middle East game.

Karami expressed the point of view that General Michel Aoun could have been president today had he been a good politician. He said that Gen. Aoun's rejection of the administrative plan for Beirut would take the country back to the situation which existed before the government's statement was issued. He added that Arabs will be able to rest and feel secure when Egypt and Syria come to an agreement, and he said that such an agreement would bode well for a new Arab age. Minister Karami thought that the openness of Maronites and Syrians was a good beginning.

In his interview with AL-HAWADITH Minister 'Umar Karami answered the following questions:

[AL-HAWADITH] How would you evaluate the existing situation in Iqlim al-Tuffah, and what are the regional and local implications of that situation? How do you think this conflict will develop?

[Karami] The situation in Iqlim al-Tuffah is having a major impact on the quest for a solution to the Lebanese crisis. When the prime minister invited everyone to join him in the quest for a solution based on the al-Ta'if Agreement, all the Lebanese people rejoiced and took that as a good omen. To be sure, we were expecting some factions to complain about this crisis coming to an end and to do everything they could to interfere with the quest for a solution. That is why what happened in Iqlim al-Tuffah did not take us by surprise.

Israel is the ultimate beneficiary of all the battles which are being fought today in the south. No one stands to gain from what happened because the savage killing and destruction drives area residents away and scorches the earth, which is what Israel wants. That is why what is happening in the south ultimately benefits Israel. It is [also] why the decree issued by the Council of Ministers called upon all armed individuals to withdraw from the south and allow Lebanon's legitimate forces to take their place. When I was watching television yesterday, a report on the Lebanese people was being broadcast live. It showed how all the people opposed all political parties and organizations and were demanding [the restoration

of] the legitimate government and the army. The Lebanese people have to come back to their national conscience and they have to break their ties with those on the outside. They have to unite behind the one goal of uniting the country. It is useless to call on fellow Arabs and on our friends abroad. We have to start with ourselves. Then we may turn to our brothers and good friends.

[AL-HAWADITH] Are we to understand what you are saying to mean that what is happening was expected and that it could not have been prevented?

[Karami] Before both sides massed their military troops, meetings were held between Hizballah and Amal to implement an agreement on the ground that would define where each side would deploy its troops. That meeting [as published] failed and nothing was achieved. There were expectations of what happened 72 hours earlier, and both sides were contacted, but both sides affirmed that no battles or fighting could possibly happen because they knew Israel's situation. That is why we relied on them, but then the situation erupted.

[AL-HAWADITH] Is the conflict in Iqlim al-Tuffah one over the settlement of Palestinians, or is it an attempt by Iran to claim it has a stake in the south?

[Karami] Two things will result from this conflict. We know today that Jews from all over the world are being brought into Israel, and we know that Israel's plan is to expel Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza. Israel plans to expel even those Palestinians who have been living in Palestine since 1948. It is known that these Palestinians would go to Lebanon or to Jordan. Thus, this fighting which has been going on is giving Israel an opportunity to send Palestinians into Lebanon. Although everyone knows about these facts, it is regrettable that we don't see anyone changing his positions, his methods, or his practices. It were as though all of us were wittingly or unwittingly moving toward carrying out the conspiracy. The last thing, of course, is clear and unequivocal. Having raised its stakes in south Lebanon through the Revolutionary Guard, Iran is staking its claim to south Lebanon. Iran's claim in south Lebanon is very important and more important than any hostage. If Hizballah were to get its hands on south Lebanon, Iran will most certainly become a player in the Middle East game.

[AL-HAWADITH] How would you account for Israel's involvement in the battles in the south?

[Karami] Regarding the existing situation in the south Israel's ambitions are well-known. The protraction of these battles and conflicts is its first and foremost goal. Israel is willing to start the fires of any conflict if the battles were to subside because everything that is happening is serving its own interests. Everything that is happening—the expatriation, the killing, and the destruction—is serving Jewish interests, and all the claims that are being made about resisting Israel are not true at all because what we see them doing is actually

serving Jewish interests, particularly considering the fierceness with which they are fighting each other. It is regrettable.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do you think the Lebanese army is qualified to go into Iqlim al-Tuffah to establish security there in the wake of a political decision made by both sides?

[Karami] This is a matter that we have to make clear. The entry of the Lebanese army into Iqlim al-Tuffah would be a good thing. At the present time, however, the army is not well-armed. We all know how much we had to fight with our friends and brothers to furnish this army with weapons. It is a fact that a signal had been given so that the army would not be furnished with weapons to go into the south. At any rate, the army's entry into south Lebanon is a moral gesture more than it is a military one. We are asking both sides to withdraw so that the army can take their place. After all, the army will not be going into south Lebanon and using force to subdue both sides and then replace them. There is a moral significance locally to the presence of the Lebanese army in the south.

[AL-HAWADITH] This means, if Israel allows the army to be present in the south, doesn't it?

[Karami] And if political parties and organizations allow it. What we are hearing now is that Palestinians stipulated that security forces rather than the army enter the south, but I do not know if this information is accurate.

[AL-HAWADITH] How would you explain Gen. Aoun's attitude toward the statement made by the Council of Ministers? How will that affect the political situation and the security situation?

[Karami] Let me say in all candor that Gen. Aoun is not a politician. He is a man who has misgivings and dreams. If he were actually a politician, he would have been president today. Gen. Aoun who remains even today a prisoner in B'abda Palace did not know how to take advantage of the golden opportunities that came his way. He is still dreaming about bringing back the past. In politics, when someone loses his position, it is very difficult for him to regain that position and to regain the people's confidence. The general has brought us to a stage in which the country was placed in grave danger. He brought us to a stage that led us twice to in-fighting and major battles as well as awesome and unprecedented killing and destruction in Lebanon. It is a fact that he has no political plan and no clear political vision. Gen. Aoun does not even have a political future. Such obstinacy is prolonging the crisis and giving the enemies of Lebanon an opportunity to divide and fragment the country. Aoun may be acting in good faith, but the fact that he continues to remain obstinate and to maintain his hard line position is considered a major betrayal of his country.

[AL-HAWADITH] According to one parliamentary source the administrative plan for Beirut, a plan for

which there are no guarantees, will turn out to be a timid step, if it is established, because it will be possible for any group at any time to destroy it. What do you think about that?

[Karami] There are two paths we have to pursue until the country is united. We can pursue either a military path, which is unlikely, or a peaceful one. Today, the legitimate government is trying to extend its authority. We must take advantage of every inch over which the legitimate government can extend its authority. Gen. Aoun has to give up B'abda Palace, and he has to turn over the responsibility to General Emile Lahud. This will unite the army and will lead to its deployment from B'abda to al-Kalb River and al-Damur, an area much larger than that of the administrative plan for Beirut. It is even larger than the area of Greater Beirut. If this were to happen, the area over which the legitimate government exercises its control will spread, and we will not have to wander through the geographical mazes of an administrative plan for Beirut and a greater Beirut. We can talk about greater Beirut if you wish, but such a discussion would be complex and intricate.

[AL-HAWADITH] Contacts are underway between the new Lebanese Front and the Socialist Progressive Party. What are the implications of these contacts, and who stands to benefit from them?

[Karami] We are saying that the aim of all contacts between the Lebanese is to unite the country under the required and preferred legitimate government. That is why we welcome all such contacts and do not object to them at all. This is the spirit of the appeal that was made by the Council of Ministers.

[AL-HAWADITH] Has the al-Ta'if Agreement been a failure, or is its implementation still possible? Why has there been a delay in amending the constitution as agreed, and who is responsible for it?

[Karami] What we have been saying over and over again is that although we were opposed to the al-Ta'if Agreement, we accepted it reluctantly to save the country because it is the only means available at the present time to stop the fighting, to bring the Lebanese people together, to restore their cohesion, and to unite the land. While Aoun's opposition to the agreement is unequivocal, Ja'ja' is opposing it with diplomatic flair. At any rate, we are saying that the reforms realized by the al-Ta'if Agreement are very modest. Today Aoun is talking about restoring the powers of the presidency to create a balance between the three powers. But this is a delaying tactic. To this day there are people who cannot understand that in this day and age at the end of the 20th century, our system, the Lebanese system, is not being applied anywhere in the world, not even South Africa. We all know that the Lebanese tragedy started because some of the Lebanese are being subjected to prejudice and to unjust and discriminatory practices. That is why we are seeking justice. Every instance of injustice and prejudice will ultimately lead to an explosion, and, God

knows, we have had enough explosions so far. The al-Ta'if Agreement conferred no powers upon the presidency or any particular faction. Instead, it gave those powers to the Council of Ministers as an institution representing all the Lebanese. But if this is how their minds work, then we will be going back to the Middle Ages. Aoun is always trying to appear to be a man with a new and advanced way of thinking. From time to time, however, he misspeaks and the truth about him is brought to light.

The al-Ta'if Agreement is the only acceptable method about which all the Lebanese agree. The Council of Ministers sent the text of the agreement to parliament, and the government has been united in solidarity in that regard. We did what we had to do, and we will not be responsible for any delay if there is one.

[AL-HAWADITH] Political parties and national forces are disconnected and divided. Why hasn't a unified front been established, and what are the factors that are standing in the way?

[Karami] There is no doubt that the general situation in which we find ourselves has had its effect one way or another. These were major events, and high hopes had been placed on the National Front which comprises all the parties. That is why there was some disappointment with what happened. It is my opinion that these national forces must not remain in a state of disarray. They have to be reorganized because this front, which is very important to our political action, must take its proper place in fighting this battle and it must strive to unite Lebanon. Today we are in a race against time, and the situation in which we find ourselves is very poor. People have been setting dates for a major explosion that would divide and fragment the country, and a few ambassadors have spoken about that. Although they may be overstating the case, we think that the conditions of the treasury, the army, and the administration have become very poor and that further maneuvers and more losses on the home front will be intolerable. There are commanders and tribal chiefs who do not want peace and tranquillity in Lebanon and who are living comfortably on funds that are being given to them. That is why the National Front must be united and its goals must be defined. It must move to establish a strong front to help the legitimate government restore its authority over all Lebanese territory in general.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do you believe that Phalangist Chief George S'adah visited Syria to reopen the dialogue between Syrian officials and Maronites who had broken relations with those officials?

[Karami] It took a long time for our fellow Maronites to acknowledge that there is a history and a geography which cannot be wiped out. It took a long time for them to acknowledge that no one can fight destiny. But it took all this suffering and all the sacrifices and the futile battles to convince them, as we heard yesterday from Dr. George S'adah, that Syria has a major role to play in

Lebanon and that without Syria there can be no solution in Lebanon. This is what we have been saying for 15 years. Had this been done some time ago, we would not have found ourselves where we are today. This is one of the positive signs which we hope will result as soon as possible in reactions on the ground that would open more avenues to peace.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do you believe that the required rigor will be observed in the official Baccalaureate Certificate examinations, or will there be a repeat of past tensions and chaos? Why are the dates for these examinations in the eastern zone different from those dates in the western zone?

[Karami] First of all we are well aware of the grievous damage that has been done to the reputation of our educational system inside the country and abroad. And rightly so, because standards have actually deteriorated and are no longer fitting for the standard of this Lebanese Baccalaureate certificate as we know it. That is why we decided to hold these examinations even though we know about the difficult circumstances which students are experiencing. There is no doubt that this year we will not be as strict as we used to be during the glory years of this Baccalaureate. Actually, however, we have to be prepared to bring students up to the required level, and we will do everything we can so that performance is good in all areas. I want to affirm, however, that whatever the performance rate is, that rate will be better than it was in the past.

As far as different dates are concerned, all the countries of the world have one examination session, and we decided to have one session this year. The war in the eastern zone has been going on for some time, and we cannot yet consider the situation there to be calm. We took that into consideration because everyone knows that students in the eastern zone are not ready for the Baccalaureate examination and cannot apply for it. Because we did not want to be unfair to these students or to the rest of the Lebanese students who make up a large number of the students who are ready to take the examination, we divided the matter into two parts. The first part will be for students who are ready to apply for their examinations. Some of them will pass and others will fail. But students who are not ready will apply for their examinations in December. We would thus be making the examinations available to everyone.

[AL-HAWADITH] How do you see President al-Asad's visit to Egypt, and what effect do you think the visit will have on Arab harmony and on the Lebanese scene?

[Karami] There is no doubt that Syria has a major role to play. There is also no doubt that it can exert influence on the Arabs and on the international and Lebanese communities. Egypt is the largest Arab country, and its resources are too numerous to count. When Cairo and Damascus get together, Arabs feel comfortable and secure. This new rapprochement between the two countries bodes well for a new Arab age of harmony, wealth,

and peace. Today, of course, the situation we have in the Arab world is difficult and sensitive, and we cannot confront it unless we have Arab solidarity. The situation we have today in the Arab world is sensitive and difficult because of international changes, of Jewish emigration, and the influence that Israel has on the world. If the Arabs continue to be divided, Israel will finish us off one by one while we remain preoccupied with our personal differences. Then the tragedy of Spain will have been repeated. I hope that the rapprochement between Syria and Egypt will be a good thing for the Arab nation.

[AL-HAWADITH] What is your assessment of the Kuwaiti-Iraqi dispute and of Saudi Arabia's involvement in that dispute? What is your assessment of Saudi Arabia's effort to turn the situation in a positive direction?

[Karami] The dispute is regrettable. Any dispute of this kind leaves a very poor impression about the Arabs. It was only yesterday that a summit meeting was held in Baghdad, and it was only yesterday that we had Arab solidarity and solidarity in the Gulf. But suddenly brothers and allies turned into enemies, and obsessive fear was revived. This obsessive fear will linger even if the crisis were to come to an end, and the outcome in general will be damaging to the Arab nation.

[AL-HAWADITH] President Franjiyah appears to be pessimistic about the crisis. He considers the Kissinger plan to expatriate Christians to be still viable. Do you agree with him?

[Karami] We are saying that there are major dangers, but we cannot give up simply because Kissinger is devising a plan. In our opinion, we are the ones who will be carrying out plans, and it will be up to us to stop this bloodshed. The early stages of this rapprochement and new openness between Maronites and Syrians bodes well. If we can join efforts to unite our country, neither Kissinger nor anyone from abroad can carry out the plan. That is one side of the coin. On the other hand, although all of us are suffering and enduring in many ways, we are appealing to citizens to join in the effort to unite the country. After all, this is a country, not a tent we can fold and walk away from. Inasmuch as we hold on to our land and adhere to our principles and traditions, we will continue to fight until we become worthy of this country and stand up to the conspiracy. It is true that many of our countrymen immigrated, and we understand that they had overpowering family and material circumstances. But the vast majority are still determined to stay and to go on. That is why I do not share President Franjiyah's opinion. Despite all the dangers, we are determined to stand up to this plan and to hope for the best. Right is on our side, and the right side is the side we must follow.

### Director General of Public Security Discusses Role

90AE0326A London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic  
24 Aug 90 pp 20, 21

[Interview with As'ad al-Ta'qsh by Ahmad Zayn in Beirut; date not specified]

[Text] The authorized General Director for Public Security, Colonel As'ad al-Ta'qsh, emphasized that confidence has been restored in the Lebanese passport, which, he believes, is now as valuable as gold, inasmuch as the administration safeguards Lebanese passports in the vaults of the Bank of Lebanon.

He believes that it has become impossible to successfully forge a Lebanese passport. In an interview with AL-HAWADITH, he stated that all Public Security offices in Lebanese territory, including those in the occupied border strip, have resumed operating, except for an office in Ba'bda and one in Jadidat-al-Matn.

He states that, despite the stringent measures that were imposed on the acquisition of a passport, 90,000 passport applications were submitted to the administration in a 36-day period, of which 24,000 were granted and 3,000 were denied. The following is the text of the interview:

[Zayn] How do you define the functions of Public Security today?

[Al-Ta'qsh] Public Security is a general administration for all citizens. The services it provides include the issuance of passports, residency permits for foreigners, and entry visas. It also controls people entering and exiting Lebanon through border posts, and it performs its basic task of gathering political, economic, and social information for the benefit of the government.

We in the General Public Security Administration have been working in a temporary headquarters in the Information Ministry building since 13 October 1988. We regard ourselves as in fact representing all officers, ranks, and personnel of Public Security, even in the period of two governments, during which we have made efforts to keep the administration from breaking apart, which would result in each region issuing its own passport. We responded by revoking passport copies, stamps, and so on, without which transactions cannot be undertaken.

With the start of President Ilyas al-Hirawi's tenure and the formation of a government, a decree was promulgated that provided for the printing of a million Lebanese passports. Accordingly, a contract was concluded on 1 March 1990 to print the passports. The work went rapidly. The passports were supplied, and we indeed carried out the task. We began to issue passports on the 11th of last June. As of 17 July, we had received about 40,000 applications, of which 24,000 resulted in the issuance of passports. After examining the applications, we rejected about 3,000 passport applications.

[Zayn] Does that mean that all the Public Security offices in Lebanon have resumed operating?

[Al-Taqqsh] The regional offices of the Public Security Administration, to which the citizens can submit their applications, number 23 offices spread throughout all of the provinces of Lebanon. Two offices remain outside the control of the legitimate government, the Ba'bda office and the Jadidat-al-Matn office. We hope that our colleagues and the de facto authority there will clear the way for citizens to submit their applications to ease the burdens on the people.

[Zayn] Why did you reject 3,000 passport applications?

[Al-Taqqsh] In our work, we comply with the provisions of the law and the regulations that are in effect. In order to obtain a passport, one must fulfill conditions. In some cases, these conditions are not fully met, for example, when a passport photograph is old, a bald person submits a photograph showing him with hair on his head, faces in passport photographs are obscured by dark glasses, an identity card is torn or bears forged numbers, and so on. We have a specialized examination system, and we assure the citizen that our records are sound. We refer to them daily to carefully cross-check passport applications.

[Zayn] In recent years, confidence in the Lebanese passport has been lost because it has been forged so frequently. Have you taken steps to prevent this?

[Al-Taqqsh] To prevent forgery or the theft of passports, we have employed many methods. The printing of passports is carried out on the most important press in the world, in London, which is the press that prints Lebanese currency. The passport model was selected last December from among 80 passport models. We have fortified the passport with secret distinguishing marks that cannot be known by counterfeiters. Secret marks are located on the cover and on the paper inside the passport. These marks, which are in the form of inscriptions and chemical materials, quickly show sensitivity to solutions. We have also ensured the protection of passports in storage. The passports are unloaded at the Beirut Airport in closed boxes and deposited in the bank of Lebanon, to rest there securely next to the gold. We would not exaggerate if we said that our passports now have the value of gold. Protection of the Lebanese passport protects the freedom of the Lebanese. From now on, we want the Lebanese to encounter neither humiliation nor affront at embassies and border posts wherever they go. We also record the distribution of passports in numbered registers. Every issued passport is recorded in this special register. The recorded information includes the passport bearer's name, the name of the passport issuer and arranger, and the passport number and date. We also prepare and retain verification cards. Due to current space restrictions, the records are consolidated in a safe place and will be alphabetized at the first opportunity.

[Zayn] Why have you begun taking a thumbprint of new passport applicants? You did not do this in the past.

[Al-Taqqsh] The series of measures to fortify the passport include having applicants come personally to our offices. We do not wish to create hardships or make people stand for two hours. Rather, we want to ascertain that applicants are Lebanese, based on accent, the pronunciation of several letters and words, and even physiognomy. The applicants' presence eliminates intermediation and complaints. When an applicant comes, he helps us regarding writing his name, his confession, and entry visas that he obtained, all of which helps us ascertain if he is Lebanese.

Some people can impose their presence or authority here or there. However the passport is a document for use outside of Lebanon. If this passport does not enjoy trust and credibility, the head of the mission of any embassy or consulate cannot be enjoined to honor it by giving a visa to its bearer. We are proud to say that we have introduced our new Lebanese passport to all Lebanese missions abroad and all foreign missions in Lebanon. It has been met with encouragement, and all embassies grant entry visas based on the new passport.

[Zayn] Can you clearly and affirmatively state that confidence has been restored to the passports of Lebanese?

[Al-Taqqsh] The progress of efforts to issue the passport inspire trust and credibility. If we have imposed these measures, which are severe in relation to the citizen and normal in relation to the official administration, the welfare of the citizen has been our primary objective.

[Zayn] You stated that the administration collects information for the government—information on what?

[Al-Taqqsh] The basic function of Public Security, according to Article 1 of Legislative Decree No. 139 issued in 1959, is to collect information for the benefit of the government. This work has not ceased, even in the most difficult security conditions. We are working daily within this framework. The information that is collected is for the benefit of the government. We refer it to the government through his excellency the interior minister, whose orders we carry out.

[Zayn] Do you collect information at the government's request, or on your own initiative?

[Al-Taqqsh] There are two types of information. One is of the administrative investigation type, which pertains to employees who want to open schools, specific organizations, and so on. This work is commissioned by the pertinent agencies.

The other type of information relates to the activity of the parties and societies, and demonstrations. This is daily activity that Public Security undertakes pursuant to its work.

[Zayn] Why has the administration's normal task of granting visas to foreigners been suspended?

[Al-Taqqsh] When we assumed the position about a year and a half ago, we did not have cards for foreigners or movement passes for a group of bearers of cards under study or Palestinians in Lebanon. Recently, we acquired these forms, and we have resumed handling this activity as usual. We did not handle this task previously, because we started from zero, and the previous administration did not supply us with any blank forms. Because of the determination of the cabinet and the interior minister, we were able to obtain these documents, and we have been granting them for over a month.

[Zayn] Can it therefore be said that Lebanese Public Security has resumed engaging in all of its tasks?

[Al-Taqqsh] Without exception, we are completely performing all of the tasks required of us. We are nonetheless encountering difficulties in our work, especially because of space restrictions. As a displaced general administration, we need a building with no less than 80 rooms. At present, we are confined to rooms scattered among Central Inspection, the Information Ministry, the Tourism Ministry, and the Civil Services Council.

[Zayn] As the head of this administration, you have taken it from zero and restored its effectiveness. However, you have done so as a proxy director. Can you frankly tell us why you are the proxy director and not the regular director?

[Al-Taqqsh] I am not a proxy director, but an authorized director. In other words, I do not enjoy the rights of the general director, but I perform all of the duties of the general director.

[Zayn] Why is a regular director not appointed to such a very important administration, especially now, under the auspices of this new era?

[Al-Taqqsh] The appointment of a director for Public Security is effected according to a decree that is adopted in the cabinet. I personally have complete trust in the cabinet and his excellency the prime minister. They are most cognizant and aware of the country's interest. The interest of the country, I believe, is currently in reliable hands. The cabinet will decide on the appropriate person and the appropriate time for appointing a regular general director.

[Zayn] You stated that the Public Security offices are all operating with the exception of two. Does that mean that the Public Security offices in the border strip are operating normally?

[Al-Taqqsh] Yes. We receive the transactions of our offices in Hasbiya, Marj'ayun, and Jizzin. We very much hope that our colleagues, or the de facto authority, in Ba'bda and Jadidat-al-Matn will be sensitive to opening the way for Lebanese citizens to submit their applications, out of mercy for the people. The fate of this matter

will clearly have important legal consequences, especially regarding salaries, promotions, and transfers. Whoever carries out the orders of the legitimate government will obtain his due from us regarding salaries and promotions. Since the issuance of new passports, every passport issued by Ba'bda and others is invalid at Public Security border posts, or for leaving the country. In this connection, we must avoid repeating the tragedies regarding passports of the previous era, in which passports were stolen, blank passports were given out, and there was official forgery of passports.

[Zayn] In Lebanon, all of the intelligence services of the world have "eyes," and they are contending with each other on Lebanese territory. What is Public Security's position and activity regarding these eyes?

[Al-Taqqsh] We in Public Security want to be like a point in the center of the circle, approximately equidistant from all points. We act in the interest of the government, and we work with credibility and objectivity. We see matters as they are. We refer them to the highest examiner, and this examiner must make the appropriate decision.

I have good relations with all forces that are active on the ground, from the Muradah [Brigade] in the north to the Amal Movement in the south, including Hizballah, the Lebanese Forces, the Progressive [Socialist] Party, the Nasserite Organization, and the Phalange Party. In my work, I have in mind only the citizen's interest, which is essentially the country's interest. We apply only the law. The administration views the law with one face alone. It does not celebrate one leader and demean another. What is correct is correct for all the people, and what is wrong is wrong for all the people.

I am currently occupied with building an existing institution based on the rule of law. We are not subject to a person, but to the law. People are transitory, but the state and institutions endure and continue.

[Zayn] What we meant by the question is: Does this cocktail of intelligence services on Lebanese soil come under your scrutiny? Are you providing the government with sufficient information regarding it?

[Al-Taqqsh] We are striving. To answer the question, the examiner, to whom we have the honor of submitting information, can appraise and evaluate our work.

#### Husband of Two

After the interview with Colonel al-Taqqsh, we visited a Public Security office that examines passport applications. During the tour, an officer presented the colonel with an application, which, he said, was forged.

As proven by documents, the forgery involved the interchange of the applicant's two wives. The interpolating officer, through close examination and investigations after the application was submitted, established that the applicant was married to two women, one Lebanese,

named M.A., and another from an Arab country. The applicant submitted a photograph of himself and his non-Lebanese wife, but available information showed that his wife's name is M.A., i.e., the woman of Lebanese origin.

### **Druze Shaykh Abu-Shaqra Decries Sectarian Strife**

90AE0327B London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic  
24 Aug 90 p 18

[Interview with Shaykh 'Aql Muhammad Abu-Shaqra, Supreme Spiritual Leader of the Druze Sect: "Shaykh Abu-Shaqra Tells AL-HAWADITH 'Druze Have Solid Unity and Understanding; They Are Working for the Unity of Lebanon';" date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Shaykh 'Aql Muhammad Abu-Shaqra, supreme spiritual leader of the Druze sect, said that sinister forces were at work in Iqlim al-Tuffah, fanning the fires of this dispute against the interests of Lebanon. Shaykh Abu-Shaqra thought these events had a secret purpose as well as far-reaching goals, and he hoped that the legitimate army would come into Iqlim al-Tuffah as soon as possible to strengthen security in the area.

He expressed the hope that the government will succeed and that the administrative plan for Beirut will be established without opposition from some groups. He thought that the contacts that were being made between the Socialist Progressive Party and the new Lebanese Front serve the interests of Lebanon, and he hoped that the support fund for Lebanon would become a factor in bringing about real reform. He hoped this fund will not be used and exploited for purposes that have nothing to do with charitable deeds.

He said, "If it is thought that a few changes are to be made in the al-Ta'if Agreement, so be it. Such changes could be made in the future. What matters is that we do not continue going around in circles."

Shaykh Abu-Shaqra said that al-Asad's visit to Egypt was propitious and fortunate and that only good things and advantages for Arabs and Lebanon could result from this visit. He also hoped for an immediate end to the Iraqi-Kuwaiti crisis.

[AL-HAWADITH] How would you evaluate the ongoing events in Iqlim al-Tuffah? Who is behind these events and what are their local and regional implications?

[Abu-Shaqra] We regret what is happening in Iqlim al-Tuffah between brothers and fellow citizens who matter to us, and we hope that what is happening there will not continue. Sinister forces might be taking advantage of this dispute and inflaming it for their own purposes and against the interests of Lebanon and the Lebanese people. We hope that everyone realizes what the interests of Lebanon and the interests of all groups of Lebanese citizens require, and we hope this evil will stop.

This evil is something that benefits no one but those who try to divide brothers and create disunity in their midst.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do you believe that events in Iqlim al-Tuffah are paving the way for settling Palestinians in the Iqlim?

[Abu-Shaqra] People who take advantage of events wait for events like these, which are going on in Iqlim al-Tuffah and in any other area to carry out their aims that do not serve the interests of any faction in Lebanon or the interests of Lebanon itself. May God keep away from Lebanon and its people the evil of those who do evil deeds and who try to divide and separate members of the same sect in the same country. There is more than one reason why a secret aim and far-reaching goals may be behind these events. I pray that God will have mercy on Lebanon and on its people and that He guide them to what would serve their welfare and their interests.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do you believe that the Lebanese army, acting after a political reconciliation among all the feuding parties is achieved, can go into south Lebanon and impose security there?

[Abu-Shaqra] This is what we are hoping for. It is what officials are working for. It could be that once reconciliation is accomplished, such a step would be taken as soon as possible.

[AL-HAWADITH] Aoun has rejected the government's decrees and the establishment of an administrative plan for Beirut. What will the existing situation be like in the aftermath of Aoun's position?

[Abu-Shaqra] We hope that everyone will refer to his conscience and take the country's public interest into consideration. We hope that everyone will rule out private goals because if people continue seeking private goals, no one's interests will be served. In such a situation every conscientious individual should rise above his own aims and purposes and work for the interests of the country and its citizens. We ask God Almighty to inspire everyone so that everyone can see and recognize the dangerous consequences if, God forbid, opinions continue to be divided.

[AL-HAWADITH] What would you have to say about the modest step taken by the government to establish the administrative plan for Beirut?

[Abu-Shaqra] We hope the government will succeed in every step it takes and every effort it makes to straighten things out. We hope the government will succeed in achieving everything that is reassuring and beneficial so that peace can be established throughout this tortured land. God Almighty is omnipotent.

[AL-HAWADITH] There is talk that a special Druze Council is being formed to take care of business when the supreme spiritual leader of the Druze sect becomes ill. How true is that?



[Abu-Shaqra] We have recovered, thank God, and we are once again taking care of the business of our office. After God favored us with His blessings and allowed us to recover, all such ideas and efforts came to an end.

[AL-HAWADITH] How would you evaluate the contacts that are being made between the new Lebanese Front and Minister Junblatt? Do you think that a meeting between Junblatt and Aoun is possible?

[Abu-Shaqra] Politics has its ways. It may be that these ongoing contacts will lead eventually to something that is good for the country and will serve its interests. It may be that these contacts will lead to a positive outcome that will render fighting and animosity useless. It is time for this fighting and animosity to come to an end anyway; they have been going on for too long. We ask God Almighty to show everyone the way to having good intentions and pursuing the path of righteousness and peacemaking.

[AL-HAWADITH] How would you evaluate the IMF's plan to subsidize Lebanon and form a competent committee to supervise it? Do you believe this plan is a serious step toward the reconstruction of Lebanon?

[Abu-Shaqra] We hope that Lebanon will receive relief and assistance so that it can be rebuilt and somehow helped to stand on its feet once again. The establishment of this fund would be a commendable step if God confers success upon those who are trying to establish it. It would be a step that will undoubtedly help those who were affected during the events in Lebanon. It would be a favorable step, restoring to people the hope that peacemakers are out there trying to do good deeds and to please God Almighty. It may be that this fund will turn out to be a true peacemaker and that it will not be used for purposes that have nothing to do with doing good deeds for the country's welfare. This country is entitled to receive support from other fraternal countries. It is entitled to assistance from these countries in getting back on its feet after its unprecedented and rare fall. This country now needs sincere support from those who love it and from its neighbors. It needs the support of those whose good deeds are carried out for the sake of humanity.

[AL-HAWADITH] How would you evaluate the existing situation in Lebanon? In what direction are we moving? Are we moving toward partition or unification? How will that come about?

[Abu-Shaqra] If intentions are pure and officials are sincere, the openness and cooperation between the Lebanese and their neighbors may be restored. But if, God forbid, some Lebanese officials turn a blind eye to the public interests of their country, Lebanon will falter even more and it will become weaker. God only knows what the outcome of that would be.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do you believe that the al-Ta'if Agreement is still the solution or is this agreement no

longer viable? Why is it that the Chamber of Deputies is not approving the constitutional reforms? Who is responsible for this delay?

[Abu-Shaqra] Although it may have flaws, there are many good things about the al-Ta'if Agreement. In a situation such as this one, with Lebanon fumbling about, flaws in the agreement are inevitable. Attempts are now being made to implement what was agreed to in al-Ta'if, but obstructionists are blocking every positive effort that would lead to reconciliation. It is our hope that right will prevail and triumph over the obstructionists and spoilers and that Lebanon will achieve peace and understanding among its citizens. While there may be some observations about the al-Ta'if Agreement, we think that the agreement should be accepted at the present time. If it is thought that some changes should be made in the agreement, so be it. These changes could be made in the future. This would be better than going around in circles, as we are doing now, and prolonging the dispute.

[AL-HAWADITH] President Franjiyah appears to be extremely pessimistic about the Lebanese crisis. He thinks the Kissinger scheme to drive Christians out of Lebanon and bring about the demise of Lebanon is alive and well. At the same time Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah appears to be equally pessimistic. Shaykh Fadlallah says that he sees no solution before the year 2000. What is your opinion?

[Abu-Shaqra] Every person has his own opinion and his own judgment, but we pray God Almighty that truth and charity triumph and that Lebanon, which stumbled and fell because of people's ambitions and corruption and because of exploitation inside the country and abroad, can get back on its feet once again. We have to make every effort to correct the possible outcome of the evil that is hanging over our country. At any rate, everything is up to God and under His control.

[AL-HAWADITH] In the aftermath of an intra-Christian conflict and an intra-Shi'ite conflict some sources are apprehensive about an intra-Druze conflict. Would you comment on that? What measures are being taken to prevent such a conflict from happening?

[Abu-Shaqra] We regret the present and ongoing intra-Christian and intra-Shi'ite conflict. Thank God, however, the Druze have an agreement and an understanding. They are all working in unison, and we do not think that any one of them is deviating from this ongoing understanding, which is solidly based on a foundation of awareness, understanding, solid cooperation, and keeping Lebanon, the beloved homeland, in top condition. It is the Druze who built the country and who have been making sacrifices for it since ancient times. It is the Druze who are still working for the unity of Lebanon and for the survival of this beloved country. It is the Druze who have always been willing to cooperate with all those who are sincere. With God's help Lebanon will survive in spite of the conspirators and the spoilers. It is also the Druze who have always stuck together and held on to the



understanding they have despite the schemes that are contrived by spoilers and conspirators.

[AL-HAWADITH] How would you evaluate President al-Asad's visit to Egypt? How will that visit affect Arab reconciliation and the crisis of Lebanon?

[Abu-Shaqra] This is a propitious and a fortunate visit, and, God willing, only good things and benefits for Arabs and for Lebanon, will be its outcome.

[AL-HAWADITH] The Soviet ambassador appears to be reassuring about the crisis in Lebanon. It is his view that some movement is imminent and that the country is moving toward security. Do you share his opinion, and if so, how will that come about?

[Abu-Shaqra] If you have a positive outlook, positive things will happen.

[AL-HAWADITH] What would be your comment on the Kuwaiti crisis and its effect on the Lebanese crisis?

[Abu-Shaqra] We reject war in all its forms, and we hope that intra-Arab harmony can be restored and the war stopped immediately. We hope this crisis will have no effect on the Lebanese crisis.

#### **Planning Committee Chairman on Development, Planning**

90AE0328A London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic  
31 Aug 90 pp 24-25

[Interview with Khatchig Babikian in Beirut; date not given]

[Text] The chairman of the development and planning committee in the Chamber of Deputies, Khatchig Babikian, is the only chairman of a committee that does not have a ministry. Deputy Babikian is the former minister of administrative reform and other ministries. Through these positions, he has become known for his meticulous work and his immersion in planning and the science of administration, in which he is considered a specialist.

AL-HAWADITH interviewed Deputy Babikian as Lebanon stands on the threshold of a growth and development phase whose contours have emerged through the decision of the Arab Trilateral Committee to establish an international support fund. The interview dealt with the horizons of the next phase and Babikian's view of methods by which maximum benefit can be derived from international support.

Deputy Babikian stressed the need to hasten to reactivate the Planning Ministry and to launch an attack against the "legacy" of the Development Council, which the Planning Ministry bequeathed for purposes that have not been realized.

He called for the establishment of a ministry for international aid, indicating that development requires planning and implementation, because implementation without planning is a curse, not a blessing.

He stated: Development is primarily a political process. People might endure being denied equality, but they will not endure a summer and a winter under one roof.

The following is the text of the interview:

[AL-HAWADITH] It is striking that you have chaired the parliamentary planning committee for years, although the Planning Ministry itself was abolished. Why hasn't the planning committee been eliminated and why hasn't the Planning Ministry been reactivated?

[Babikian] The tragedies to which development in Lebanon has been subjected in recent years, especially since 1985, have attracted attention and made reactivating the Planning Ministry an urgent matter. This matter attracted the attention of the Chamber of Deputies a few years ago. The parliamentary committees decided to reactivate the Planning Ministry. However, this proposal was not presented to a general session to be enacted as a law.

The ministry was abolished in 1977 and replaced by the Development Council pursuant to "a legislative decree," not a law. The government's justification at the time was that the war was over and the time had come to start rebuilding, which required the utmost speed, whereas governmental administrations, the traditional systems that govern them, and the bureaucracy stood in the way of implementing a major development process that enjoyed the support of numerous parties.

However, all hopes of realizing development were frustrated. Consequently, there was no longer any justification for eliminating the Planning Ministry in favor of the Development Council. However, the ministry was not reactivated and the council continued to exist.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do you believe that the justification for establishing the Development Council, which has been without grounds since 1977, now has a basis, and that, consequently, the preservation of this council has now become necessary?

[Babikian] The council, as its founders conceived of it, is an organization that handles planning and implementation. To date, the council has totally disregarded its planning function and has applied itself to implementation. As we know, implementation without planning is a curse, not a blessing. More serious is the Development Council's exploitation of the extraordinary mandates granted to it to participate in activities and deals without limit. It began to take out state-guaranteed loans in the absence of a law [authorizing such borrowing] and without recourse to the Chamber of Deputies or any

other body. It became unregulated and acquired comprehensive mandates contrary to all democratic rules and conventions. For example, it implements and monitors at the same time.

[AL-HAWADITH] If the situation and practices of the Development Council were well known to you 12 years ago, why did you, as deputies, hesitate in deciding on such a serious matter and on reactivating the Planning Ministry?

[Babikian] We must learn from our past experiences. The Chamber of Deputies should have decided this matter years ago. It attempted to do so in 1988 by means of a draft law that stipulates the reactivation of the ministry. However, at the session in which it was decided to study the matter, Prime Minister Salim al-Huss asked that the study be delayed. He also promised to study the matter and indicated that there were new models and methods in the world for solving development problems. Accordingly, Prime Minister al-Huss promised the chamber that he would deliver a comprehensive study in this regard. It so happened that the chamber stopped meeting shortly thereafter. As for now, I know that Prime Minister al-Huss conducted the study that he promised to undertake, and he is about to present it to the cabinet for discussion. Here, I would like to stress the attitude of the Chamber of Deputies regarding this topic:

First: the Chamber of Deputies is "offended" by the Development Council, because this council spent large sums and increasingly took out state-guaranteed loans without authorization from the Chamber of Deputies. It is well known that the parliamentary councils were originally established to monitor expenditures. This is emphasized in the Magna Charta. The chamber's inclination has been to preclude any organization from borrowing or spending without its permission.

Second: The current inclination of the Chamber of Deputies is to focus on planning. In other words, the chamber considers planning an essential pre-requisite, not just for technical reasons, but also for more far-reaching and deeper reasons. The chamber believes that a balance between regions, integration between economic sectors, and justice between social groups are tantamount to a national cause connected to the core factors of cohesion between the people of the one homeland. The national unity covenant stresses this. However, frankly speaking, achieving this is not possible unless it is effected through scientific planning in which the people's representatives and key public figures participate, and I do not mean armed figures, but active forces, such as unions, associations, and voluntary service organizations.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do you mean that the Development Council has not been at all concerned with the affairs and stipulations of planning?

[Babikian] Indeed, the Development Council has not been concerned with these affairs. In any case, such serious matters should not be the concern of this council

or any similar organization that does not spring from direct elections by the people.

[AL-HAWADITH] What is your conception of the solution to problem of development on the eve of the new phase that all expect in Lebanon?

[Babikian] We have high hopes. We are coming into a period of peace and development. The Trilateral Arab Committee, by means of its proposal to establish an international aid and development fund in Lebanon, has demonstrated our fraternal Arabs' great concern, which holds out the promise of a flourishing future for us.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do you believe that the new crisis in part of the Gulf could affect these hopes?

[Babikian] The crisis about which we read in the newspapers must not dissuade us from our resolve, because there will continue to be crises in the world. One day they will be a crisis in the East, the next day, in the West. We must be concerned about our country. We must not for any reason squander the opportunity granted us by our brother Arabs. We must adhere to and go along with the generous Arab initiative, and mobilize all energies to make it succeed.

[AL-HAWADITH] How can Lebanon go along with the Arab initiative?

[Babikian] We must organize all of the structures and capabilities that are needed to make the work of the fund beneficial, effective, and constructive. We face a choice:

Either we can apply ourselves to drafting studies and priorities for comprehensive, carefully considered, scientific planning that lays the foundation for national unity integration, in which case the fund would become a tool for implementing plans and priorities that yield the good results for which purpose the fund was established; or, we can continue—as is unfortunately the familiar custom—with administrative neglect, stagnation, and paralysis, in which case, the fund would operate as it sees fit. Here, let me stress that any development effort without planning would be harmful. The fund will of course be intent on meeting Lebanon's present, urgent needs. This is incontestable. Of course, this is not what I mean. I mean that planning is a way to unite. Regions and sectors should not be developed at the expense of other regions and sectors, because that would inevitably produce new problems that we do not need. Development is primarily a political process. People might endure being denied equality, but they will not endure a summer and a winter under one roof.

[AL-HAWADITH] Does that mean that returning to the pre-1977 status quo will suffice to usher in a new phase after 15 years of fighting and destruction?

[Babikian] The truth is that Lebanon is facing a new chapter. It can open this chapter today to provide diverse services in Lebanon. This is the "economic cooperation" chapter. I believe that we must establish a new ministry for international cooperation or reactivate the Planning

Ministry in another form, calling it the "planning and international cooperation ministry."

[AL-HAWADITH] What do you mean by international cooperation?

[Babikian] According to my information, international funds and organizations are fully prepared to extend aid to Lebanon on two conditions, credibility and Lebanon's submission of scientifically studied projects and portfolios.

The organizations of which I speak are from the public sector, the private sector, and the public-service associations sector. These last organizations are designated internationally by the abbreviation NGO [nongovernmental organizations]. Their current activity is similar, if not equivalent, to that of international and governmental organizations. These organizations, such as social, syndical, and economic organizations, previously dealt with the Lebanese problem and the right of the Lebanese. Whoever benefitted much from them did so randomly in the absence of planning. On many occasions, these organizations fell into an uproar with our organizations, because the organizations that receive aid misuse it. If the Lebanese Government had correct monitoring, these associations would become a source of abundant funds for development. There is also the private sector in the international sector, which is represented by chambers of commerce and industry, and syndical and professional organizations, all of which are willing to cooperate with Lebanon if it cooperates well with them, and establishes the necessary credibility.

[AL-HAWADITH] Why do you not pursue these ideas, so that they become established by official agencies?

[Babikian] I recently presented these ideas to the president and prime minister. I also discussed them with a special representative of the United Nations. Many of these persons agreed with me. Therefore, I am now preparing a proposal in this regard, and I will work with a number of persons, because individual work might not be productive.

#### **Walid Zahr-al-Din Discusses Crisis in Banking System**

90AE0325B London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic  
13 Aug 90 pp 42, 43

[Dispatch from Beirut by Walid Zahr-al-Din: "Forgeries, Embezzlement, and Foul Play Cause Worldwide Crisis of Confidence in the Lebanese Banking System. Speculators in the Lebanese Lira Reap Enormous Profits at the Expense of the National Economy"]

[Text] Some 10 banks reportedly face bankruptcy in Lebanon. Constant central bank support with needed liquidity is the only thing that has delayed closure of their offices and the indictment of their officers. There is talk, furthermore, that a large group of Lebanese banks

has been put on the road to ruination. How long will this continue? Will the central bank be able to float and cover weak and collapsing banks?

An objective study by banking expert 'Abd-al-Amir Sallum attempts to give some answers. Concluding that Lebanon is currently experiencing a critical banking crisis, he offers the following suggestions for damage control:

Possible action to ameliorate the banking system crisis in Lebanon includes:

- 1- Enforce provisions of Law No. 2/67. Once a bank defaults, the governor must immediately notify the competent court and the ministers of justice and finance. Banks must also be bound by Article 140 of the Currency and Credit Law which specifies that the governor may ask the courts to liquidate and de-register banks in default. Decree No. 10/77 should be amended to conform with the provisions of Article 208 of the Currency and Credit Law. Banks in violation may be subject to such central bank disciplinary action as warnings, cut-back or suspension of tranche, prohibition against engaging in fiscal operations, restricted activities, appointment of a temporary trustee or administrator, de-listing from the banking register, fines, and other punitive action.

- 2- Monetary and banking authorities should cooperate and coordinate efforts to mandate the merger of vulnerable banks in order to reduce their number, shore up their operations, and mend their affairs.

- 3- Amend the Commercial and the Currency and Credit Laws to allow foreign investors 51 percent ownership of bank shares in Lebanon (on condition of reciprocity). Past experience has shown that foreign banks manage and protect people's funds competently and honestly whereas the bad faith of certain Lebanese banks under war conditions has resulted in fraud and wanton indifference to people's deposits, and especially to the national currency.

- 4- Augment the Banking Association's role in restraining questionable deals and activities that undermine the banking system; helping select top banking leaders; purging and correcting banking management flaws; reducing the brain drain and developing specialized cadres; helping the monetary authority save faltering banks in the manner of the French banking system; and urging banks to abide by the guidelines of the system of internal and external oversight, stop draining the central bank and the banking system, and heed monetary policy guidelines intended to safeguard the public interest and the integrity of the banking system.

- 5- Augment the role of the National Institution for Deposit Insurance in helping the monetary authority shoulder the responsibility for and the burden of lending to faltering banks, requiring the banking system to pay its annual fees, and doubling those fees in accordance with Law no. 28/67 and addenda.

6- Require the banking system to double capitalization and augment private funds. Capitalization has been extremely low after the devaluation of the lira since most countries consider the size of banking capital to be just another tool of monetary policy that competent authorities may use to control credit and liquidity. Specific ratios between deposits, loans, and capital should be set.

7- Monetary and banking authorities should form a committee to identify and punish those involved in illegal banking operations, in accordance with the law, allow the Bank of Lebanon to replace any "cambist" [currency changer] involved in dubious foreign exchange deals, and authorize it to deny speculating banks entry into the exchange market. The Banking Association should ask its members to boycott offending banks. The issue of speculation should come under the legal competence of the authorities, and especially the courts. The Banking Oversight Committee neither has legal competence to set exchange rates nor authority over the exchange market or even speculators. Current laws and regulations provide no specific definition of currency speculation and, as mentioned previously, no court in Lebanon has competence to adjudicate matters of speculation. This calls for legislating jurisprudence with the competence and ability to define speculation in its various kinds and forms and set appropriate punishment for it. This is the responsibility of a legislature capable of safeguarding the free enterprise system against anarchy, disorder, and freewheeling by enacting mandatory monetary laws that would restore confidence in the lira, safeguard it against those who would undermine its domestic and foreign value, and protect the banking system from conspirators against its safety and security. It is also necessary to establish an ethical legal and managerial framework capable of implementing flexible programs to oversee floating and the free exchange system in order to restrict speculator access to the exchange market; tax foreign currency transactions and direct the proceeds to the fund for stabilizing foreign exchange; go after speculation and speculators in accordance with the (proposed) law; and create a fiscal prosecutor-general (draft law) to oversee the movement of loans to certain sectors and prevent their transfer abroad or to the speculation market.

8- The Banking Oversight Committee should be asked to oversee commercial credit and to send observers abroad to audit lira circulation and sales to non-resident Arab and foreign banks and financial institutions and to prevent offshore Lebanese banks from accepting lira-denominated deposits in exchange for dollar-denominated withdrawals from Lebanon. The committee should also be allowed, on condition of confidentiality, to inspect bank debit and credit statements.

The study attributes the crisis mainly to the lack of controls—administrative, legal, moral, and patriotic. Certain banks ignored the provisions of Currency and Credit Law articles nos. 127, 146, 147, 152, 153, 161, 201, and 208. Some banks established unlawful credits

that exceeded the aggregate of private funds, causing imbalances between term lengths and the nature of resources with safeguards for neither deposits nor rights. Certain board members were given loans without advance permits [approval], collateral, or guarantees. Shady operations were undertaken under assumed names. Authority was vested in individuals and in centers of power rather than in boards of directors. Accounts were disguised. Mock banks and corporations were created abroad and given hundreds of millions of dollars in loans. All internal or external controls were ignored. Some conspired to acquire vulnerable banks and drain away their funds. Familial and tribal favoritism proliferated and so did political and partisan patronage. Adequate security and guarantees gave way to marginal ones. Unbudgeted operations abounded. Auditors with oversight responsibility for faltering banks breached the provisions of articles 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, and 190 of the Currency and Credit Law and openly violated article 158 of Commercial Law. The reports they prepared for the central bank and the oversight committee covered up embezzlements, violations, and infractions and concealed them from boards of directors. They breached confidentiality and desecrated their oath of office.

Certain banks took advantage of emergency war conditions and exploited the flexibility of the law and provisions of article 99 of the Currency and Credit Law (The central bank is not obligated as a matter of principle to make loans available to banks but may do so to the extent that it perceives this to be in the public interest) and of article 104 (The central bank may set limits for its assistance to banks, no matter what form it takes, guided by how important the recipient bank is) to get involved in practices alien to banking and to turn commercial transactions into investments. Allocations deviated from their authorized purposes in violation of Commercial Law article no. 197, plunging the banking system into a major crisis.

#### Impact and Consequences

The banking system crisis in Lebanon had the following impact and consequences:

- 1- Operational and budgetary imbalances undermined domestic and foreign confidence in the Lebanese banking system.
- 2- Speculation in the Lebanese lira escalated as quick profits were sought at the expense of national economy.
- 3- Central bank resources were drained in order to weaken it and constrict its role.
- 4- The banking system was politicized and dragged into the labyrinth of the Lebanese crisis.
- 5- The flexibility of current laws and regulations was exploited and misinterpreted to serve the interests and concerns of certain banking heavyweights after the war prevented monetary authorities from enforcing the law, especially articles 152 and 208 of the Currency and

Credit Law and article 197 of the Commercial Law; and after the banking oversight committee was prevented from enforcing Law No. 28/67. Competent authorities also had their hands tied by the Banking Confidentiality Law of 2 Sep 56 as war conditions restricted the Venture Authority and frustrated its efforts to enforce Resolution No. 1717 of 2 December 1980.

Banking controls were undermined by political, managerial, technical, partisan, and security considerations. Even Council of Ministers Resolution No. 1975 and Legislative Decree No. 10/77 did not overly restrict the flotation policy but rather absolved banking directors of all personal culpability in case of default, and herein lies the danger.

The banking system is shielded by banking confidentiality, the flexibility of law, the limited authority and competence of the Banking Oversight Committee which has access to debit but not to credit accounts, and the lack of Lebanese laws or courts to deal with speculation and criminalize illicit speculation. Squanderers of public funds, forgers, swindlers, and speculators were shielded by the above factors collectively from legal action and from economic and punitive accountability even though article 35 of Law No. 28/67 has vested the special prosecutor, monetary authorities, and all others concerned, with the right to take legal action against chairmen of seized banks and their board members, authorized signatories, controllers, and their cohorts. Competent courts could then determine the extent of their legal and civil liability and seize their funds.

While legal action may be thwarted by banking confidentiality, the attorney general should waive that confidentiality in criminal cases. The courts would then be able to pursue and punish those who misuse people's funds rather than shield the banks from liquidation, bankruptcy, and removal from the register.

This confidentiality that cloaks the banking system has also had a negative impact on the economy, on the lira, and on depositor rights. It has frustrated legal controls against breaches and violations and the imposition of such tight restrictions on floated banks as the garnishment of funds and property belonging to presidents and board members of faltering banks. Such funds could be seized in case of bankruptcy or where errors and violations were committed for purposes of illegal gains or to exploit the flotation policy.

## LIBYA

### Tripoli Planning Secretary Discusses 5-Year Plan 90AA0342A Tripoli AL-SHATT in Arabic 24 Jul 90 p 2

[Article: "Features of Draft Economic and Social Transformation Plan for 1990-95"]

[Text] Brother al-Sayd al-Zarruq, secretary of the People's Committee for Planning in the municipality of

Tripoli, stated that the committee to prepare an economic and social transformation plan for the years 1991-95 in the municipality had finished preparing a draft plan following its discussion of each of the special sectors in the presence of the secretary of the People's Committee of the municipality.

During the period from 1989 to the year 2000, it will be necessary to concentrate on resolutions by the people's congresses concerning total mobilization to realize the goals and ambitions of Libyan Arab society through a series of long-, medium-, and short-term programs, measures, and plans. This will require the following:

1. Using funds allocated in transformation budgets before the beginning of the next transformation plan to liquidate the majority of obligations existing under previous plans and to fund productive projects that do not require a large quantity of investments.
2. Taking the Revolutionary Program and the Total Mobilization Program as a general framework for a long-term plan whose implementation will extend to the year 2000 and beyond, depending on the national economy's ability to fund the investments included in the plan.
3. Preparing a series of five-year plans in the context of implementing the long-term plan.

So that the General People's Committee for Planning, the body charged with preparing the plan, can prepare the required plan for economic and social transformation, it must restrict itself to investment programs and projects that fall within the general framework approved by the people's congresses. It must not overestimate needs and must stress economic feasibility studies for projects.

The sector people's committees, each in the area of its specialization, have been asked to examine the investment programs contained in the Total Mobilization Plan to determine the extent to which they harmonize with the Revolutionary Program generally. They have been asked to fully study the proposed projects.

The secretary of the People's Committee for Planning in the municipality of Tripoli stated that the task of the sectors could be defined generally as follows:

### Professional Education and Training

1. Studying work force distribution by economic activity, determining any imbalance-caused defect that impedes the course of development, and proposing programs and policies able to remedy the defect.
2. Concern for the role of women in production, and introducing them into fields that suit their nature.
3. Proposing the investments necessary for professional education and training in cooperation with the municipalities and other sectors.

**New Educational Structure**

1. Defining needs related to education and scientific research, with concentration on technical sciences that help increase and develop production.
2. Implementing the new educational structure in coordination with the professional education and training sector in regard to policies to help provide qualified personnel to participate in production, and proposing the investments needed for this.
3. Establishing and developing scientific research centers to take in and benefit from researchers and students, especially in fields with priority in the coming period.
4. Establishing the programs needed to implement freedom of education.

**Preventative Health Care**

1. Preserving, maintaining, and benefiting from existing investments to the utmost extent.
2. Interest in preventative health care in cooperation with other bodies, and estimating the investments needed for this.
3. Establishing programs and policies needed to provide medical treatment in the interior, and estimating the needs required to realize this goal.

**Electricity and Power**

1. Preserving and maintaining power production by the various sources now existing in the national economy.
2. Developing and increasing power production by adding and tying in new units to achieve a stable flow into consumption areas.
3. Searching for alternatives that lessen production costs.
4. Establishing programs that help exploit local raw materials, and using the most modern kinds in this area.
5. Establishing programs to help train and qualify native personnel in cooperation with the relevant bodies.

**Oil and Gas Exploitation**

1. Continuing exploration operations.
2. Improving and developing existing industries by establishing a series of complementary industries with due regard to their economics.
3. Working to absorb native personnel into the oil industry.
4. Interest in the industrial security program and in environmental protection because of the dangers accompanying such industry.

**Transport and Communications**

1. Maintaining investments in the various means of transport and communications.
2. Establishing programs and proposing investments needed to develop economically profitable low-investment means of transportation and communication.

3. Preparing a transportation and communication infrastructure to increase exports.
4. Developing native talents to participate in managing and using the various means of transport and communications.

**Housing and Utilities**

1. Using local building materials, and improving their use so as to suit the local environment.
2. Using local financial resources provided by various public organizations and bodies, such as banks, the Social Security Fund, and other organizations.

**Agricultural Reclamation and Land Settlement**

1. Using a variety of water resources and regulating their use by building dams, cisterns, and other facilities.
2. Studying and classifying soil by productive capacity, and preparing it for the production of suitable crops to help satisfy local needs and realize food security.
3. Attention to growing olives, palms, and other trees suitable to the local environment.
4. Attention to growing grain.
5. Using the most modern production methods to lessen costs and increase production unit efficiency.

**Small Industry Development**

1. Establishing economically profitable strategic industries, and developing engineering industries.
2. Exploiting existing productive capacities by providing stable management and training, increasing production, providing industry requirements, and exploiting local primary materials.
3. Developing small industries, and encouraging the establishment of industrial cooperatives.
4. Using the Productive Family Program to achieve integration between the family and the factory.
5. Encouraging scientific studies that help discover new areas in the field of industry.

**Exploiting Marine Resources**

1. Studying the economic potentials of marine resources and how they may be exploited.
2. Providing the infrastructure needed to exploit marine resources.
3. Encouraging local production and optimal utilization of marine resources.
4. Encouraging and giving incentives to native workers to enter this field.
5. Processing marine resources as much as possible.

**Tourism and Foreign Trade**

1. Developing the infrastructure needed for tourism and foreign trade by building hotels and establishing cities for tourism and trade.
2. Establishing companies for tourism, and guiding them to make use of archaeological sites and other resources.
3. Developing managerial and specialized talents in the area of tourism and foreign trade services.

4. Encouraging initiatives that work to increase exports and tie importation to what is exported abroad.

**Culture and Art**

1. Using and maintaining existing facilities.
2. Estimating additional basic needs within the limits of expected resources to fund investments.

3. Training employees in the field of information, culture, and art to increase their competence and their abilities to mobilize the native resources of the popular masses.

4. Concentrating on projects that provide their own funding and that help return the investment, especially in the field of informational and cultural services.

## AFGHANISTAN

**AIG Denounces West's Intervention in Middle East***90AS0455A Peshawar SOBH-E PIRUZI in Dari  
12 Aug 90 p 1*

[Article by 'Abdul Rab Rasul Sayyaf, prime minister of the Interim Islamic Government of Afghanistan]

[Text]

**Declaration of the Interim Islamic Government of Afghanistan on the Annexation of Kuwait to Iraq's Territory:**

The military decision of Iraq about the annexation of Kuwait to Iraq is another crime which is being added to their first crime. The merger of Kuwait with others belongs to the Muslim people of Kuwait and not to the Ba'thist mercenaries and agents.

The silence of Muslims in the face of this phenomenon and this event is against the spirit of brotherhood and fairness.

Alas to the state of the Muslims of the world, whose brothers are being swallowed by the Ba'thist giant and they have taken up the role of spectators.

While we actually back and support any decision of the world's Muslims against Iraq's aggression and its military decisions, we once again declare to all Muslims that it is preferable that they reach a firm decision themselves, so that there will be no need for the intervention and help of strangers. Meanwhile we declare that we are fully prepared for the defense of the holy sanctuaries, at any cost it may require.

**Commentary Attacks U.S. Presence in Saudi Arabia***90AS0455B Peshawar SOBH-E PIRUZI in Dari  
12 Aug 90 pp 1, 6*

[Text] A considerable number of the American armed forces, whose troops were reported by world press agencies to number 50,000, were stationed five days ago in northern and northeastern areas of Saudi Arabia. The stationing of American forces in Saudi took place after the occupation of Kuwait by the Ba'thist rulers of Iraq and at the request of Saudi Arabia's King Fahd. Saudi King Fahd, in a speech he broadcast on Saudi radio and television after the deployment of American forces on Saudi soil, said: The stationing of American forces in Saudi Arabia is temporary and these forces were called to Saudi Arabia because of the conditions created by Iraq and they will leave Saudi soil whenever their return is requested.

In this speech, King Fahd strongly condemned Iraq's aggression on Kuwait and asked for the withdrawal of

Iraqi forces from Kuwait and the return of Kuwait's deposed emir to his country.

It should be pointed out that the presence of American forces on Saudi land, under whatever name and reason, is an incorrect and unjustifiable act and adds further to the aggression of Iraq's Ba'thist regime and the potential interventions of Russians in the region and this results in further damage for the Muslims and the suppression of Islamic movements in the Middle East.

On the other hand, the protection of the holy lands of the Muslims by American forces, who are in fact Jewish and Christian forces, is a cause of grief for all the Muslims of the world and especially for the Arab nations.

**Hikmatyar's Extreme Positions Attacked***90AS0457E Kabul ANIS in Dari 7 Jun 90 p 2*

[Text] During the last 24 hours, world radios have broadcast the speeches of the two Afghan opposition leaders in which the profound differences between these opposing groups is clearly evident. While Gulbuddin Hikmatyar has vehemently dismissed any future role for Zahir Shah in Afghanistan, he has further discounted the possibility of elections and likewise refuted women's suffrage. He went on to state that it was the personal opinion of Mr. Gilani that women have the right to vote. Furthermore, Hikmatyar accused the United States of trying to reinstate and impose the former king in Afghanistan.

On the other hand, in a separate interview with THE MUSLIM and THE PAKISTAN TIMES newspapers, Sebghatullah Mojaddedi attacked Gulbuddin and indicated that the assaults on the international relief organizations is the work of Gulbuddin's followers.

Likewise, Majaddedi accused Gulbuddin of creating discord among the Mujahidin and expressed his surprise as to why he does not accept the reinstatement of Zahir Shah in Afghanistan.

The latest murder victim of Gulbuddin's followers is one of Jamiat-e Islami's longstanding members, named Mohammed Zahir-e Khatib, in Peshawar, which has once again brought the followers of Gulbuddin and those of Jamiat-e Islami face to face. Gulbuddin's recent statements indicate that the differences between him and Rabbani is not limited so much so that in addition to Gulbuddin, Hezb-e Islami Party openly attacks Gilani and Mojaddedi as well. Inside Afghanistan, Hezb-e Islami also attacks other groups or individuals who are not members of Jamiat-e Islami.

If we consider that Gulbuddin's criticism of the United States is not a kind of tactical maneuvering, it certainly indicates that he has turned against his own benefactor. The people of the United States and the rest of the world, where they follow Afghanistan's issues, are well aware of the fact that the bulk of American assistance used to reach Gulbuddin, and for this reason his followers had



the upper hand over his rivals. Even right now, Gulbuddin's followers continue to enjoy the United States' assistance; since Gulbuddin's close relations with the high-ranking officials of Pakistan's military intelligence service, which oversees the distribution of military assistance among the various Afghan opposition groups, has ensured that Gulbuddin's followers receive the lion's share of the American military and monetary assistance.

Now that it has become quite evident in Pakistan that the smuggling and sale of weapons by members of Hezb-e Islami is permissible to anyone who can produce the cash, Pakistani officials are a little worried about the serious dangers this might have on the internal security of their country. This is a well placed concern, and finally some opportunists and self-seekers from the Pakistani military intelligence service, who are involved in corruption and bribery, will bring about a situation which will be irreversibly detrimental to Pakistan. This is a concern which has been voiced by the American press on several occasions, and meanwhile the strengthening of Gulbuddin by the United States and Pakistan has been seriously criticized. By now, the true character and the adventure-seeking nature of Gulbuddin's followers has become quite evident, and the American people no longer consider him to be their trusted ally. At any rate, the situation which is going to come about in Pakistan and the accumulation of any further difficulties will be the result of a mistaken policy by Pakistan itself. Eventually, the powder keg of the Pakistani people's anger will uncontrollably endanger the very existence of that country.

### **Military Strikes by Mujahidin**

#### **Government Troops Killed, Posts Destroyed in South Salang**

*90AS0467A Peshawar SOBH-E PIRUZI in Dari  
1 Aug 90 p 1*

[Text] The MIDIA [Media Information Department of Islamic Afghanistan] correspondent reports from Chitral that recently the Mujahidin carried out successful strikes on the regime's posts and, as a result, took over six posts and destroyed two tanks with their crews.

The report adds that during the operation 40 militiamen of the regime were taken prisoner and 60 different weapons were taken as booty by the Mujahidin.

The report further states that during this clash four Mujahidin were martyred and six others were injured.

#### **100 Government Troops Killed in Herat**

*90AS0467B Peshawar SOBH-E PIRUZI in Dari  
1 Aug 90 p 1*

[Text] During three days of surprise attacks by the Mujahidin, more than 100 soldiers and militiamen of the Kabul regime were killed or injured and two regime trucks carrying military supplies were set afire. On 23 July, the Mujahidin, who had taken position along the

Herat-Islam Qala highway, destroyed nine enemy tanks and trucks and took 10 Kalashnikovs as booty.

During the fighting, 100 soldiers and militiamen of the regime were killed or injured. In the Shebesh and Khom Golokhan areas, two tanks of the Kabul regime were destroyed with their crews.

The report adds that on 25 July, Mujahidin attacked a supply convoy of the regime along the Herat-Islam Qala road and destroyed one tank and two trucks of the enemy and took 30 different weapons as booty.

During these operations, one Mujahid was martyred and five others were injured.

#### **Government Troops Killed, Posts Taken in Kabul**

*90AS0467C Peshawar SOBH-E PIRUZI in Dari  
5 Aug 90 p 1*

[Text] A Mujahidin source has reported to MIDIA [Media Information Department of Islamic Afghanistan] that, on 23 July, the Mujahidin carried out joint operations against the Chaharwazagi garrison in Bagrami district, 20 Km southeast of Kabul city, as a result of which 15 enemy posts were taken, 105 regime troops were killed, and 15 militiamen and officers were taken prisoner by the Mujahidin. The report adds that during this fierce battle 100 different weapons were taken as booty by the Mujahidin.

The report further adds that the Kabul regime has dispatched around 100 tanks to the area to take back these posts and heavy fighting is continuing between the Mujahidin and the regime.

According to the report, during these operations 11 Mujahidin were martyred and 21 others were injured.

#### **Government Troops Killed, 4 Million Afghanis Seized**

*90AS0467D Peshawar SOBH-E PIRUZI in Dari  
5 Aug 90 p 1*

[Text] According to a telephone report by captain Musa Khan, the Mujahidin under the command of commander Hefzul Haq carried out an operation on 27 June, against the posts of Kan Qatarghi, as a result of which one post was taken, 15 militiamen and regime soldiers were killed, and 10 Kalashnikovs were seized by the Mujahidin.

The report adds that on the same date the Mujahidin of the named commander took positions along Pol-e Saracha road and destroyed a military vehicle of the regime together with its passengers. The report further adds that 4 million Afghanis, belonging to the militias, which were in the vehicle, were seized by the Mujahidin and were distributed among them according to the decision of the Mujahidin Council.

**35 Government Troops Killed in Ghorian-e Herat***90AS0467E Peshawar SOBH-E PIRUZI in Dari  
5 Aug 90 p 1*

[Text] MIDIA's [Media Information Department of Islamic Afghanistan] agency in Quetta reports that on 26 July the Mujahidin attacked regime forces stationed in Rozang area and killed 35 militiamen, including two of their commanders.

The report adds that in another attack, on 5 August in the same area, a military truck was destroyed together with its passengers by the Mujahidin.

The same source reports from Farah Province that on 6 August the Mujahidin attacked Shindand airport with heavy weapons, as a result of which about 15 militiamen and soldiers of the regime were killed and the airport installations were severely damaged.

The report added that during the operation one Mujahidin reached the high rank of martyrdom.

The source reports from Kandahar Province that recently the Mujahidin of Spin Boldak district attacked the regime's military installations and posts in the Tor Kotal area, as a result of which a large ammunition depot of the regime was set on fire and a large number of soldiers were killed in the fire.

The report says that in retaliation for this attack, the regime's airplanes heavily bombed Mujahidin positions, as a result of which five Mujahidin were martyred and 20 others were injured.

**Military Vehicles Destroyed in Bagram Airport***90AS0467F Peshawar SOBH-E PIRUZI in Dari  
5 Aug 90 p 1*

[Text] A Jamiat-e Islami source reports that on 27 June the Mujahidin fired with heavy weapons on Bagram airport. As a result of the attack, three vehicles in the motor battalion of the airport were set on fire and eight regime soldiers were killed.

The report adds that Mujahidin continued to hit Bagram airport with their heavy weapons.

**Government Posts Attacked in Ghazni, Herat, Qonduz***90AS0467G Peshawar SOBH-E PIRUZI in Dari  
8 Aug 90 pp 1, 6*

[Text] A jihad source reported to MIDIA [Media Information Department of Islamic Afghanistan] news agency that on 12 July the airplanes and artillery of the mercenary Kabul regime bombed the Wa'ez, Lashmak, and Shadi Koshak villages of Ghazni Province with napalm bombs, as a result of which six civilians, including children and women, were killed. A number of others were injured and a number of homes were destroyed.

The report says that in this attack the enemy's airplanes threw 49 napalm bombs on the mentioned villages.

The report also adds that in an attack on military targets of the mercenary regime on 19 July, the Mujahidin destroyed an ammunition depot, a food warehouse, a fuel reserve and a truck, killed 10 regime soldiers and militiamen and injured a number of others.

According to a report sent to MIDIA from Herat, the Mujahidin of the Martyr Afzali front attacked the regime's military installations in Herat city and killed three officers and one soldier. Meanwhile, eight soldiers fled the ranks of the regime forces and joined the Mujahidin.

Another report, received from Qonduz, indicates that on 26 July the Mujahidin attacked the regime's security posts in the city with heavy weapons, as a result of which losses and damages were inflicted on the regime's forces.

The report says that as a result of the fire opened by the regime's artillery forces on the villages around Qonduz city, five civilians were martyred, a number of other were injured and houses were destroyed.

**Mujahidin Attack Military College in Pul-i Charkhi***90AS0467H Peshawar SOBH-E PIRUZI in Dari  
8 Aug 90 pp 1, 6*

[Text] As a result of strikes by the Mujahidin's long-range rockets on the campus of the military university in the Pul-i Charkhi area of Kabul, 13 soldiers and officers were killed.

MIDIA's [Media Information Department of Islamic Afghanistan] correspondent reports from Parwan Province that on 22 July, the Mujahidin fired on the campus of the military university of the communist regime with their heavy weapons from the Koh-i Safi area, as a result of which 13 regime troops were killed.

The report adds that, in retaliation, the Kabul regime bombed Mujahidin centers in Koh-i Safi on 28 July, but the Mujahidin suffered no losses.

According to another report, Dr. Azizullah was exchanged with an individual of the Kabul regime.

The MIDIA correspondent reports from Parwan Province that on 13 July, brother Dr. Azizullah of Deh Sabz District of Kabul Province, and one of the doctors performing duties on the front, who was arrested six months ago by the agents of Kabul's communist regime in Alisheng District of Laghman Province and consequently sentenced to 15 years in prison, was exchanged, according to an agreement between the Mujahidin and the regime, with Muhammad Sharif of the Baba Qoshqar village of Deh Sabz District of Kabul Province, a Khad member who was arrested together with a number of

important functionaries of the regime by the Mujahidin during an operation in Koh-i Safi, in Daulat Zai area of Sarobi district.

#### **Government Troops Killed in Karokh, Guzara of Herat**

*90AS0467I Peshawar SOBH-E PIRUZI in Dari*  
12 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] According to a Mujahidin source in Peshawar, during a four-day operation of the Mujahidin against regime posts and military installations in Aroh, Badamtu, Kochak, Mahal Babaji, and Hazar Jerib areas of Karokh and Guzara districts of Herat Province in Western Afghanistan, which lasted from 26 to 29 July, 126 militiamen, soldiers, and officers of the godless regime were killed or injured; their six eight-cylinder and Toyota vehicles were destroyed.

The report adds that during the operation 56 Kalashnikov machine guns, three machine guns, and two rocket launchers and a large amount of ammunition were seized by the Mujahidin.

According to the report, one Mujahid was martyred and three others were injured during the operation.

#### **Mujahidin Down Plane, Kill Brigadier General Abdul Rahman**

*90AS0467J Peshawar SOBH-E PIRUZI in Dari*  
15 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] MIDIA's [Media Information Department of Islamic Afghanistan] correspondent reports from Kabul Province that on 22 July the Mujahidin of Paktia Province downed an AN-32 airplane of the Kabul regime, carrying Brigadier General Abdul Rahman, commander of the Khost brigade and political deputy of the 25th division in Khost District, while it was preparing to land in Khost airport, by firing a surface-to-air missile.

The report adds that Brig. Gen. Abdul Rahman, political deputy of the 25th division stationed in Khost, and the pilot and technician of the plane were killed in the plane.

The correspondent adds that the brigadier general was promoted to the rank of major general after his death.

#### **28 Government Troops Killed in Ghazni**

*90AS0467K Peshawar SOBH-E PIRUZI in Dari*  
15 Aug 90 pp 1, 6

[Text] Reports received from Ghazni Province say that 375 militiamen of the mercenary Kabul regime stationed in Madisan area in Ghazni Province joined the Mujahidin in that area.

The report adds that this number of militiamen joined the Mujahidin on 11 August as a result of their previous contacts with the Mujahidin in that province.

According to another report, on 5 and 9 August the Mujahidin carried out successful operations against the

posts of the security belt around Ghazni city and the newly established posts in Qala-i Adam Khan, as a result of which two helicopters of the godless regime were downed by Mujahidin rockets and their 28 soldiers and militiamen were killed, 29 others were injured, four posts were destroyed, a tank, a military truck, and an ammunition depot of the enemy were set on fire and the Mujahidin arrested three soldiers of the mercenary regime with their weapons.

The report adds that later the regime's airplanes heavily bombed residential areas, as a result of which three defenseless civilians, including women and children, were martyred, 12 houses were destroyed, and 12 heaps of wheat harvest were set on fire. In these clashes, six Mujahidin were martyred and 14 others were injured.

#### **Mujahidin Attack on Kabul Kills Two Soviet Advisers**

*90AS0467L Peshawar SOBH-E PIRUZI in Dari*  
15 Aug 90 pp 1, 6

[Text] As a result of rocket attacks by the Mujahidin in Kabul Province, two Russian advisers and 35 officers of the Kabul regime were killed and a number of others, along with four Russians, suffered injuries.

MIDIA's [Media Information Department of Islamic Afghanistan] correspondent reported from Kabul Province that on 21 July the Mujahidin carried out rocket attacks on military centers in Kabul city, during which one rocket hit the Soviet Friendship Bureau in the Dehmazang area, resulting in the death of two Russian advisers and severely injuring four others of them. On the following day, the bodies of the killed and injured Russians were taken to Russia by airplane.

The correspondent added: On the same day, a number of other rockets hit the cafeteria of the military club of the eighth division in Kabul's Qargha area, as a result of which four officers and six troops of the communist regime in Qargha division were killed and eight others were killed.

In another dispatch, the correspondent adds that on 27 July the armored vehicle of Colonel Muhammad Sharif, commander of an artillery brigade of the Kabul regime, belonging to Abdul Rashid Dostram, exploded during his visit to Dahandara in Pashai area of Paghman District, after running over a mine deployed by the Mujahidin. As a result, the brigadier was killed along with six other active members.

The report adds that the Mujahidin of Paghman attacked the Kabul regime forces under the command of Brigadier Muhammad Sharif while they were moving towards Pashai valley, with artillery, killing seven members of Dostam's militia and defeating the forces.

The Kabul regime called the killing of Muhammad Sharif a great loss.

### West Accused of Conspiracy to Prevent Formation of Islamic Government

90AS0455D Peshawar SOBH-E PIRUZI in Dari  
25 Jul 90 pp 2, 5

[Text] The foreign ministers of the two superpowers are to meet shortly at the negotiating table and have talks on the new design of Russia and America about the problem of Afghanistan and once again play with the destiny of the Muslim nation of Afghanistan.

There is no doubt that the glorious jihad of the mujahid nation of Afghanistan during the last 12 years against the greatest world power once again proved this fact to all peoples of the world that the Muslim nation of Afghanistan does not bow before any idol and colonialist and is continuing its armed jihad for the establishment of the government of Godly justice in this land to the last person and the last drop of blood. Realizing this fact, the enemies of Islam, whether in the East or West, who are strongly fearful of the establishment of a government on the basis of Islam by the 20th century beaters of communism, are not giving up any conspiracy and plot against our holy jihad.

With the defeat and withdrawal of Russian forces from Afghanistan conditions became more favorable for the overthrow of Najib's puppet regime at the powerful hands of the Mujahidin. But as soon as the Red Army withdrew from Afghanistan, the assistance rendered by Western governments during the presence of Russian forces in Afghanistan were slowly reduced and even stopped to some of the powerful fronts who had many initiatives in their hands.

Meanwhile, voices were heard from the West, claiming that with the withdrawal of the Red Army from Afghanistan, the case of jihad has ended and henceforth the matter should be solved through understanding and a political solution between the Mujahidin and the Kabul regime.

It is astonishing that the West, instead of supporting the just cause of the Afghan Mujahidin, resorts to such poisonous propaganda and this at a time when the Russians, despite all their internal difficulties, are continuing their assistance to their puppet servant government in various spheres, especially in the military sphere, by supplying large quantities of weapons and ammunition, since the withdrawal of their forces from Afghanistan in the Winter of 1988-89 and they are fearful that if the Mujahidin come to power in Afghanistan, they will, in order to take revenge for the crimes of the Russians, internationalize the Islamic revolution and free the Russian-occupied republics in central Asia, take such actions which will cause headaches for, and even the disintegration of, the central government in Moscow. And all this led to the prolongation of the puppet government's life for a little longer.

On the other hand, the emergence of developments in eastern Europe has drawn the attention of the West,

making them think lest some day, after the victory of the Islamic revolution in Afghanistan, the effects of the Islamic jihad spread also to the countries under the domination of the West so that, like eastern Europe, they will free themselves, one after another, from the direct or indirect domination of the West.

It is for this reason that America is against the downfall of the Kabul regime by military means, because the toppling of the Godless regime will take place only by those Mujahidin who hate America, Russia, and all idols. In that case America will not be able to install its chessmen, who are trained according to its will, at the helm of power in Afghanistan.

According to media reports, the foreign ministers of America and Russia will discuss and negotiate the agreement reached between the leaders of the two countries, stipulating that the mercenary Najib remain as president symbolically and delegate some of his authority in the military, Khad, and media affairs to a provisional neutral organization which will belong neither to the Mujahidin nor to the Kabul regime and that organization will launch free general elections in which the unpatriotic Khalq party will also participate. The Interim Islamic Government of Afghanistan has repeatedly declared its position on the notorious and traitor Khalq party. As long as the Khalq party, which is the main cause of the catastrophe in Afghanistan, remains involved and is not removed from power by the powerful hand of the Mujahidin, it considers any plan and agreement, such as the Geneva agreement, in which the real representatives of Afghanistan have no part and which doesn't conform to the will of the Muslim nation of Afghanistan, an intervention in its internal affairs, condemned and impracticable.

The heroic and martyr-raising Afghan nation, just as it began its jihad against agents of communism with empty hands and without dependence on outsiders and offered more than 1 million and 6 hundred thousand martyrs in this holy way for the establishment of the government of Godly justice in Afghanistan, will not abandon its jihad and will not lay down its arms until the formation of a 100 percent Islamic government in Afghanistan. Certainly the right of self-determination and deciding upon Afghanistan belongs to those who broke the myth of the invincibility of the Red Army.

### Commentary Alleges 'Unholy Alliance' of U.S., USSR

90AS0455C Peshawar SOBH-E PIRUZI in Dari  
5 Aug 90 p 4

[Text] World arrogance has appeared with changing faces at different times and, with favorable opportunities at its disposal, has used its capabilities for the identification and distinction of its interests and finding different and apparently deceptive and attractive ways of exploitation.

In this process it has realistically and scientifically evaluated the weaknesses, needs, shortages, and requirements of nations better than any expert and scientist and has calculated them carefully in relation to its greedy long or short term interests and has consequently offered detailed and elegant plans to the oppressed nations, coupled with a lot of obligation, so that in the final analysis the relevant results and interests will accrue to itself. Although world arrogance has appeared in Eastern and Western forms and they have also from time to time had frictions, but they have always, on the basis of their common interests, common features of arrogance, and similar colonial qualities, on occasions of necessity joined hands and helped each other according to the pulse of the conditions and the times. One could cite many examples in this regard, the best and most recent of which is perhaps the present cooperation between East and West.

At the beginning of June, the leaders of East and West held talks in America for several days, the agenda of which was diverse and broad, ranging from a reduction of nuclear weapons to the destruction of chemical weapons and from international and regional problems to mutual and special matters.

According to the correspondents present at the scene and reports by international news agencies, in most of the areas no progress or little progress was achieved despite heavy bargaining.

In my opinion, the only spectacular progress in these negotiations was achieved in the sphere of mutual trade and economic relations. America signed a series of trade agreements with Russia, which were generous and aimed at helping and saving it from the fatal maelstrom of economic defeat or in other words the fruitlessness of the restructuring or perestroika programs of Gorbachev. Indeed it was the only obvious result of these negotiations, which was frankly declared.

Let us see why this kind of agreements have gained priority and precedence and which factors determine their preferred status. What is their spirit and essence?

The Soviet Republics are currently threatened by disintegration. The problem of unilateral declaration of independence by Lithuania and the independence-seeking tendencies in other Baltic republics have found no solution as yet.

The just demands of the Azeris have not been fulfilled and the tension between Azerbaijan and Armenia is still in an explosive state. The uprisings of central Asian Muslims are undergoing their period of growth, coordination, and evolution.

Stranger and more important than all others is the problem of the center and nucleus of the Union of Soviet Republics, i.e. the Russian Federative Republic, which encompasses three fourths of the whole territory of Russia, is economically strong and, in regard to its deposits of oil and gas and other mines, is considered one

of the best mineral-rich areas in the world (Russia has the largest deposits of natural gas and oil in the world and is the number one producer of these commodities).

The timber industries in this republic are very advanced and it has big factories, such as iron works, airplane, automobile, and space industries. So it is clear that from an economic viewpoint this republic is powerful and valuable.

From the political perspective, a new president has recently been voted to power in this republic after two rounds of voting, and he is the liberal Boris Yeltsin, who is also the leader of the radicals and claims that Gorbachev's reforms are insufficient, inappropriate, and ineffective and cannot address the 70-year-long backwardness of the communist era in Russia.

After the elections, a 15-article bill on the independence and sovereignty of this republic was approved by its parliament. This bill clearly states that the laws of the Russian Federative Republic take precedence to the central laws of Russia. This is a great and critical development at this critical juncture in the history of Russia.

What is astonishing is the question of who the Russian Federative Republic wants to gain its independence from. Wouldn't this striving for independence spread to other republics? And wouldn't it become an example for others?

Now that in the central parliament of Russia the relations of the republics with each other, their collective relationship with regard to national divisions and other similarities, their relationship with the center and the scope and magnitude of their independence in their foreign affairs area being discussed, they want to find ways of preventing secession and centrifugal movements and to maintain close and friendly relations between the republics in general and those with more common features in particular. Gorbachev has almost accepted the laws legislated by the Russian Federative Republic within the framework of the all-union constitution of Russia.

On the other hand Gorbachev's masterpiece, i.e. the so-called perestroika, is not possible to implement in Russia without introducing the free market.

And the implementation of the free market in Russia is meaningless and impossible without the help of the West and American aid. Therefore, in these critical or rather most critical and delicate moments in the socialist history of Russia, when the whole country is prevailed by uprisings, movements of independence, strikes and demonstrations, and the people's reasonable demands, and when the scent of independence has been sensed by its oppressed slaves, America dashes to its help and despite the crimes that the communist party has committed all over the globe during its lifetime, and especially the fact that in recent years it has turned its small neighbor Afghanistan into a land full of blood and fire and the fact

that the nation of Afghanistan has suffered the loss of 1,500,000 martyrs and that the independence and dignity of such a freedom-loving nation is at stake, America pays tribute to the good services of Gorbachev and hands a medal of honor around his neck and affectionately holds his arms and helps him to stand firmly and strengthens and guarantees his firmness with American dollars. What brings this cooperation and unholy alliance into action is, as we have already pointed out, their common arrogant and colonial characteristics.

### **Commentary Claim Plot to Derail Islamic Revolution**

*90AS0455E Peshawar SOBH-E PIRUZI in Dari  
29 Jul 90 p 4*

[Text] From the viewpoint of sociology, whenever a revolution has taken place in any part of the world, it has advanced with the struggles and efforts of the peoples of that land and without a movement of the peoples no revolution has taken place or will take place. This means that if the great powers want to change the political, cultural, industrial, and other conditions of a country in a certain way, such a program cannot be implemented if the will of the nation is not in favor of those changes.

Some people believe that world revolutions occur at the will of the great world powers, above all Russia, America, and England, meaning that revolutions are the work of foreigners in the revolutionary country. As proof of this claim they cite deviations of revolutions, which they consider to also occur at the will of foreign powers, who rid the revolution from its real meaning and this rhetoric has also often been used about a revolution being Islamic, which we can deny with the following:

Revolutions always emerge as a result of the shortcomings and oppressions of the ruling power. These shortcomings are investigated from the viewpoint of the ideology, school, and religion of the majority of the people and steps are taken to rectify them.

Revolutions can be general or partial, while the industrial and cultural revolutions can be considered partial revolutions. But general or social revolutions must include all spheres of a nation's life, ranging from the cultural and political spheres to the industrial, artistic, etc. The Islamic revolution of Afghanistan is, as all know, an Islamic and social revolution which is generally applicable to all dimensions of the Afghans' and even mankind's life. We strongly deny the insults of arrogance and its chessmen, who don't consider our Islamic revolution Islamic and don't call our revolution a revolution and we say that:

As all know, the rulers of Afghanistan have worked little for the development of the country in various spheres, which has led to our backwardness and this backwardness of our country from the caravan of science, civilization, politics, etc., in comparison to other countries of the world can be traced back to the oppression of the superpowers in Afghanistan. This means that throughout

history, the great powers have not wanted and allowed our country and nation to catch up with the science and civilization caravan of the new age, i.e. they created a series of economic, political, military, and even cultural problems among us, so that we will be preoccupied with this kind of problem and not pay attention to our surroundings. Yes, these shortcomings became accumulated and our nation became frustrated and founded political organizations on the basis of their own accepted culture, which is and was the Islamic culture. During the period of the monarchy they waged a struggle against such oppressions and shortcomings so that the world powers had no choice but to change the chessmen, made plans and committed the most criminal acts in order to prevent our faithful and mujahid nation from its chosen path. With the direct intervention of the Russians and their open aggression on our land (there is no doubt that the jihad organizations have played a major role in our Islamic revolution, but the spontaneous uprising of the nation is also an important factor in the armed uprising which should not be denied) in this way the Mujahidin overcame the worst conditions and all the hardships with the most losses and with reliance on the force of faith they were able to inflict a shameful defeat upon the Red superbeast and its Warsaw pact allies and to raise the banner of "there is no god but Allah" on the sky-high summits of their country and to become a source of pride for the 1 billion Muslims of the world. The jihad of our faithful nation brings the promise of victory to the weak and oppressed of the world, again in such a way that the impact of Afghanistan in the world Islamic movement and the freedom movement of other nations is undeniable, but it is not the only factor. Arrogance [i.e. imperialism or colonialism], which for many years has sucked the blood of captive nations, did not sit quietly and planned other tricks, in order to confront the Afghan Mujahidin, who are the main motivating force of Islamic and liberating movements in the world, with defeat and to catch fish in muddy waters.

Thus, when a few years after the beginning of our Islamic revolution, the Mujahidin approach victory and see victory not far from them, world arrogance, with world-swallowing Russia at the top, start to act and extend the hand of cooperation to the Westerners, and the English help them to derail our Islamic revolution. So we call these problems pests and investigate the pests of the revolution. The pests of the revolution, ranging from cultural, political, and military pests to social and individual ones should be studied together with the deceptive policies of the enemies, some of which we mention here.

At the beginning, in order to hurt and scratch the Islamic feelings and beliefs of our nation, arrogance brought some new religious schools, which were planned in their satanic factories and had reached apparent maturity in their dictatorial palaces, into the environment of migration and jihad, thus to be able to create fragmentation in the ranks of our nation. These new schools were propagated by their chessmen, who they had already trained

and with the material backing that they had, they have been able to create cracks and cause our fragmentation.

The East and West joined hands and wanted to detract our mujahid nation from its special spirituality, which it had always possessed and which had always led to their spectacular successes, towards materialism. Thus with their systematic and coordinated work they were able to succeed in their nasty goals and now they engage in another conspiracy to oppress the Muslims of Afghanistan, that is, to form a neutral state, which means that the parasites who for years sucked our blood should return and we should accept their rule and abandon our arms and surrender to these empty masters.

The objective of all these crimes of arrogance is to rule the weak and oppressed. East and West, despite having differences over a number of problems, reach agreement in cases such as the problem of Afghan Mujahidin and join hands for the destruction of the ideal of our faithful nation and the elimination of Islamic thought in the world and create an atmosphere conducive to the fulfillment of their nasty goals.

Now that the Russians have been defeated in Afghanistan and have no hope of returning and are even fearful for the prospects of their future good neighborliness, and fear that the Muslims inside Russia (Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and others) may be supported and helped by Afghan Mujahidin and thus achieve victory, and the West is also apprehensive for the liberation of Palestine and the control of the warm waters of the Persian Gulf by Muslims.

At present three heroic nations, Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan, who have an Islamic ideology and whose nations want only an Islamic State, while the Iranian and Pakistani nations have Islamic States and Afghanistan is also in the stage of victory, after the liberation of Afghanistan, arrogance fears the friendship and brotherhood of these three countries. And constantly they are thinking about derailing these three brother nations.

When these three countries, after the liberation of Afghanistan, strengthen their relations in light of lofty Islamic teachings, it is natural that the interests of arrogance will be jeopardized and it also will take action. But since East and West act together on all programs, they begin to act early and fan differences, so as to be able to catch fish from muddy waters.

Therefore, O Muslim Brother, O Afghan, O Iranian, and O Pakistani, join hands and study the problems with diligence, straighten your ranks, identify the hypocrites and the chessmen of arrogance and with broad programs for the liberation of Palestine and dear Jerusalem, for the liberation of Afghanistan and the Muslim nations who are still captives of infidelity and arrogance, struggle with brotherly unity and do not allow those who for years have sucked the blood of Muslim nations to continue their crimes.

Just as America was taught a lesson in Iran and the Russians in Afghanistan, we must together destroy Russia, America, and England with all their satellites by our jihad in the way of God and establish the rule of God on God's land over God's creatures, so that on the day of resurrection the Uzbek, Turkmen, and Tajik brothers and other Muslims will not hold us responsible.

In the hope of liberation of beloved Afghanistan and the establishment of the government of Godly justice in the world.

### **Religious Leaders Promote Government Peace Aims**

*90AS0457C Kabul ANIS in Dari 19 May 90 p 3*

[Text] Yesterday the religious leaders of the Friday mosques of Kabul, before initiating the prayers, talked about the relationship of national peace and the significance of holding such grand gatherings in order to resolve many of the social and political problems faced by the Afghan people. They emphasized that, according to the decrees of the Islamic religion, it is the duty of every Muslim to do his best to secure peace and prevent more bloodshed.

In these religious speeches, the leaders tried to explain the fundamentals of the holy religion of Islam with regard to securing national peace. The religious leaders cited examples from the great book, the Koran, regarding the necessity of national peace and security and holding of public gatherings to achieve that goal.

After the completion of the prayers, all the participants prayed for the security and welfare of the country and beseeched God for discontinuation of the war and bloodshed throughout the nation.

### **Koranic Evidence Used To Justify Government Peace Plans**

*90AS0457D Kabul ANIS in Dari 2 Jun 90 p 1*

[Text] Yesterday, before initiating prayers, the religious leaders and scholars of Kabul's Friday mosques cited examples and evidence from the holy Koran in regard to brotherhood, discontinuation of the war, prevention of fratricide, and asked Almighty God to bring an end to the war and restore peace throughout the country.

By means of recital of some Koranic verses, they justified the national compromise as Islamic and humane examples decreed by God. Thereafter, they prayed to Almighty God for the complete realization of their wishes.

### **Commentary Criticizes Corruption in Government**

*90AS0457A Kabul NEGAH in Dari 5 Jun 90 p 2*

[Text] On 21 May 1990 when Fazil Haq Khaliqyar, on the president's orders, was charged with forming the new government in order to obtain a vote of confidence,



together with the members of his cabinet took part in the general assembly of the parliament and outlined the policy of his government. After proper exchange of opinion with the members of the parliament his policy was approved with a majority of votes.

At the same time that we sincerely congratulate Prime Minister Fazil Haq Khaliqyar and his cabinet members, we also have certain reservations regarding some of the policy's points that we would like to point out below:

There is no doubt that the new government policy is an appreciable one and if truly realized it can bring about social welfare and democracy in many areas of our daily life.

During a period of 12 years our country was faced with many problems and difficulties. On the one hand, the destructive war weakened our national economy, disintegrated the very components of family life, destroyed many public and private properties, inflicted innumerable pains and agonies on our people. And on the other hand, some unscrupulous and insensitive, self-seeking individuals and opportunists, by taking advantage of the critical situation of the country, went on a rampage of accumulating wealth and plundering the public, thus they brought about further severe conditions and made life much more difficult for our countrymen.

Right now a foul bureaucracy has cast its powerful grips on all aspects of our governmental departments, so much so that bribery, corruption, and misappropriation are all becoming a very normal way of life and even an inseparable part of our system of administration.

The gap between the people and the government has increased more than ever before and the people cannot gain access to the responsible authorities in order to convey their complaints and criticisms. The list of appointments and the allotment of time for seeing the public officials seem to be only for appearances' sake, and we have hardly been able to find a responsible official to follow through according to the envisioned list for meeting with the members of the public.

In the new government policy, we read: We need a system of administration which brings about a faster and easier way for resolving the affairs of the government. In order to reach this goal, we must begin with a fundamental campaign against unnecessary bureaucracy which creates unwanted gaps between the government and the people and causes slowing down of the correct and timely execution of obligations.

There is no doubt that whenever there is mistrust or misunderstanding there will also come about the unwanted gaps as mentioned above. At a time when the responsible officials or the high-ranking authorities of various ministries shy away from the people and thus through this action create a kind of vacuum between the government and the bereaved and oppressed people, they will encourage corruption and discourage the public from any government support. The new government

must seriously think of new ways for making contact with the general public and listen more closely to their complaints.

The expansion and universality of democracy demands the very basic elements of human aspects and it is for this reason that in the new government policy the matter of expansion has been emphasized. Namely, the freedom of press has been cited as a fundamental aspect of social democracy. One section of the new policy reads:

"The publication of thoughts and the free press comprise an inseparable part of a democracy. The press speaks for the people and since we do believe in the undivided assistance of the people, with further freedom of the press we will see more sincere cooperation from the people. The government supports the freedom of the press and with all its possibilities it will assist them as well."

Surely a free press is the very manifestation of the democracy of a certain society. Whenever we bestow real freedom upon the press, it will undoubtedly help to betray any existing gaps or vacuum and other negative aspects in the society, thus creating an atmosphere for rapid recovery and healing.

We further express our appreciation for the viewpoint of the esteemed prime minister with regard to his support for the freedom of the press. Here we also would like to note that the more we expand the freedom of the press the more we will witness the elimination of the deficiencies and shortcomings.

Furthermore, we would like to mention the fact that freedom of the press can work positively only when it is backed by strong material and spiritual support. However, under existing circumstances only a limited number of the national publications are active in the country, many are more or less faced with various difficulties and problems, so much so that some are on the verge of total elimination. Until now our national press has been acting in a limited fashion and likewise it has had limited room for constructive criticism. Nowadays, the cost of running a publication rises every day and the final cost of the production of any printed material is nowhere close to the price offered at the stands.

Until now, no financial help has been extended towards the national publications. On the contrary, those publications which enjoy government support have been able to thrive in a favorable atmosphere.

So far, no proper and modest office space or workplace has been designated for the national publications and thus they lag behind other publications which enjoy certain privileges.

By means of this article, we enumerated a few existing problems of our national publications and would like to



mention the fact that our free press, like any other socioeconomic area of our country, is in need of rapid and necessary assistance.

First of all, the new government should seek various means and procedures in order to prevent the imminent elimination of many of our national publications, thereby trying to create an atmosphere where they can grow and expand. Through the expansion of activities of an effective free press the government will be able to overcome many of the drawbacks and shortcomings of our society.

### **Commentary Points Out Government System Deficiencies**

90AS0457F Kabul ANIS in Dari 6 Jun 90 pp 1, 3

[Text] Shaqoli Khaliqyar, the prime minister, both in his policy outline and at his brief press conference, pointed out the fact that at the present time there are many deficiencies in the various government departments and that his government is quite determined to eliminate those shortcomings. Shaqoli Khaliqyar went so far as to say that there are certain self-seekers and opportunists in the government system. These individuals have been identified and accordingly they will be investigated. There will be no chance for these people to misuse their position any more.

We do not like to be pessimistic about these remarks and say that in the past other governments likewise made certain promises that they could not keep. Of course, now it is too early to judge the government of Mr. Khaliqyar. There is a lot of hope and optimism and Mr. Khaliqyar, with his clean record, can make our hopes and expectations remain plausible. We all know that glossing over existing realities will never resolve any problem. As the prime minister, Mr. Shaqoli has seen, heard, or knows that the deficiencies of the government system continue as usual and the practice of bribery goes on as a normal daily activity. The extent of corruption has gone so far that it has affected and overshadowed the sincere work of some of the faithful and conscientious employees. The people are right when they keep complaining and appear pessimistic. Here it should be noted that in addition to the aforementioned deficiencies we must also add the problem of procrastination and laxity in some government offices. Many of the employees seem to be very listless and unwilling to do the least amount of work. There is a general sense of despondency together with a complaining mood concerning the exorbitant cost of living. Clearly one of the main reasons for this kind of despair and low spirits is the high cost of foodstuffs and other essential items of daily life. What makes this situation even worse is a lack of encouragement and motivation, whether spiritual or material, which can prod the employees on. Proper measures should be taken to end this situation in the work environment. The prevalence of injustice, intermediation,

and influence peddling are also some of the other factors which create a sense of discouragement among government employees.

We are looking forward to see how Mr. Khaliqyar and his cabinet members are going to tackle these problems. At any rate, with a change in the process of execution and approach to the problems, we hope the existing situation will gradually change. Although there is a lot of complaining, yet the people are hopeful that something can be done to remedy the situation.

We wish success for Mr. Khaliqyar's government in this great cause.

### **Letter on Bleak Situation, Government Shortcomings**

90AS0457B Kabul PAYAM in Dari 7 Jun 90 pp 1, 2

[Text] Recently one of the responsible officials of the historical province of Helmand has sent a letter to this newspaper in which he describes some of the problems and the indifference of the authorities of that province. The following is the text of his letter:

When we go through the pages of our country's history, we remember the days when our heroic countrymen shed their blood to fight the British occupiers in the region of Lashkari in Helmand Province, and succeeded in driving away the foreigners from that historical province. The province of Helmand, which is one of the most plush and luxuriant regions of our country, is situated along the banks of the Helmand River and there are many beautiful villages and small towns in that area. One of these beautiful towns is Lashkargah. Before the advent of the war, Lashkargah was an extraordinarily luxuriant and bountiful land with its tall trees and beautiful avenues. It could compete with the most attractive historical cities of that region. It was a town which always attracted the attention of the historians and archeologists, thus more than ever before enhancing its place in the history of our nation. Although during a period of 10 years of destructive war, extremists on orders from their foreign bosses would shed the blood of our Afghan people, reducing many of our villages and towns to rubble, yet the people of Lashkargah with steadfastness and decisive patriotism defended their town and did not give the enemy the chance to destroy it. At present, the prevailing situation of the town seems calm and normal; however, the rate of social growth is very slow and it requires the attention of the responsible officials of the province.

There is no electricity and no potable water in this town; both the residents and the plants throughout the town are in dire need of water. Yet if you walk through the town at night, you will notice that there is enough electric power from generators that light the homes of many respectable government officials, while the rest of the town lives in total darkness. If we add up the total load of these handful of generators, we will see that there will be enough electricity for the whole town of Lashkargah. The majority of the trees have dried up and have

decayed and the people are using the wood for heating and cooking purposes. All the roads have fallen into a state of disrepair and even one side-road's pavement has completely been removed and the entrance access has been blocked by a wall of dried clay bricks while the proprietor of the immediate residence has built up a swimming pool on the roadbed.

Many of the water pumps are inactive and no one knows where the responsible officials are who should keep them going. It seems that enough power can be produced by the Saraj River Dam. However, as a result of some technical problems, they cannot reactivate certain portion of it so that we could get some power in Lashkargah.

For instance, there is a plant here which produces cotton, soap, and vegetable oil, but as a result of some mismanagement and suspicious dealings, once in a while the owners set fire to a portion of the plant and by the time the fire department engines arrive normally all the incriminating evidence has been consumed.

As we look around the beautiful town of Lashkargah, we notice that each and every part of it is in need of some kind of assistance, but as the saying goes: Who has a hearing ear? Yet we have to tell the story for everyone to know.

If our respected national authorities take the matter seriously and discuss it with the officials of Helmand Province, we can be sure that the problem of scarcity of water or power can be resolved. Similarly, if all our responsible officials make an effort to work with other experts and interested individuals the difficulties of the situation can be overcome.

## BANGLADESH

### Ershad Ready for Foreign Observers at Elections

91AS0016A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 14 Aug 90 p 3

[Text] Demra, 12 Aug—The Jatiya Party Secretary General and Deputy Prime Minister Shah Moazzem Hossain said here today that the government of President Ershad was ready to take any steps including the provision of bringing foreign observers for the sake of holding coming elections in a free and fair atmosphere, reports BSS.

Addressing a labour rally organised by the regional unit of the Jatiya Sramik Party Shah Moazzem described the present government as the people's government and said the Jatiya Party was not afraid of elections.

In an oblique reference to the proposition that the supervision of the international observers team could ensure free and fair polls Shah Moazzem said it was President Ershad who had offered idea to the Opposition parties two years ago for bringing them in the national polls.

Now ignoring the President's offer a section of opposition leaders were seeking assurance of a free and fair polls from a foreign guest, he added. Such kind of mentality of the opposition leaders was the demonstration of their dependence on their foreign masters.

In this connection, he said a section of Opposition leaders were making frequent visits to abroad. At times these leaders had visited abroad with application to the donor countries asking them not to help the people of Bangladesh at the time of natural distress.

Jute Minister Sheikh Shaidul Islam, Textiles Minister A.B.M. Ruhul Amin Howlader, President of Jatiya Sramik Party Shah Mohammad Abu Zafar, MP [member of Parliament] Jatiya Jubo Sanghati, President Syed Abu Hossain Babla MP and General Secretary of Jatiya Sramik Party M.A. Gafur also spoke at the rally. Local labour leader Nurul Islam Ratan presided over the rally.

Regarding the coming elections Shah Moazzem made it clear that President Ershad had announced the presidential elections as per the provision of the constitution.

He said the coming presidential elections would take place in time. Either any Opposition parties participate in it or not, the Jatiya Party will participate in the polls with the people.

Criticising the Opposition parties Shah Moazzem said you want to go to power but become afraid of elections. How could you fix an omelet without breaking the egg, he asked.

He pointed out that the next parliamentary elections would take place in the country after the completion of the presidential polls.

## INDIA

### Reportage on Foreign Minister's August Trip

#### Visit to Kuwait

91AS0044A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 24 Aug 90 p 11

[Article by G.H. Jansen; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Amman, August 23. With somewhat unaccustomed decisiveness, the Indian government has taken a clear stand on the present status of Iraqi-occupied Kuwait. The minister for external affairs, Mr. I.K. Gujral, visited Kuwait from Baghdad on Monday and by doing so he automatically conferred de facto recognition of the territory as annexed to Iraq.

India is almost certainly the first country in the world to make such a move. If ever the former ruling al-Sabah family returns to power in Kuwait, India will have some explaining to do.

It could of course, be said that the minister's visit did not absolutely and inevitably imply political or diplomatic recognition because he was visiting Kuwait on a humanitarian mission—to carry aid and comfort to members of the 172,000-strong Indian community there; and doubtless to answer anxious questions on what India would be doing for its nationals, particularly those who would want to return home.

It is the sheer bulk of the community that militates against a swift solution of the problem of their presence: even if a ship carrying the usual 3-4,000 people were to sail every single day from Kuwait or from Umm Kasr port across the border in Iraq, it would still take a month to get everyone away. With two Jumbo flights a day from Amman, the time span would be over six months.

Therefore, there will, inescapably, be quite a few Indians as well as Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Sri Lankans in Kuwait City if and when the battle for it begins at any time during the next couple of weeks.

The many tens of thousands of these south Asians would be a far larger and more effective human shield for the Iraqis than a couple of hundred American and Western European hostages. Provided, that it, that the Americans do not take the attitude that non-U.S. civilians are expendable.

The external affairs ministry has at last realized that the embassy in Jordan, the only land exit from Iraq, could not on its own possibly handle the stream of refugees passing through and so has reinforced its staff with four diplomatic officers.

The statements by President Saddam Hussein from Baghdad and the Iraqi foreign minister at a press conference were both part of an Iraqi propaganda offensive to show the world that she is trying to be reasonable and willing to negotiate.

This only seemed to provoke western correspondents who fired Mr. Tareq Aziz, Iraq's foreign minister, with their often rude questions. But he kept his cool and managed to make the important point that the final status of Kuwait was still an open question, though it can safely be assumed that the return of the al-Sabah family would not be one of the options that Iraq may be prepared to consider.

#### Report to Parliament

91AS0044B Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
24 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 23. Detailing the steps taken for the repatriation of Indians from Kuwait the External Affairs Minister, Mr. I.K. Gujral said there was no reason for haste or panic in leaving that area. "Our people have done well there. They have contributed to the development of the nation and the present circumstances, though difficult, should not be a cause for panic

or hasty departure", he told Parliament today. He was reporting on his recent visits to Moscow, Washington, Baghdad, Kuwait and Amman.

Apart from the questions relating to the security and well-being of Indians in Kuwait (and Iraq), he discussed the impact of the crisis—of the U.N.-mandated sanctions against Iraq—on India, the plans to approach the Security Council for "solution" of the problems and the possibility of reversing the present trends.

It was a detailed but a low-key narration of the stand taken by the Government on issues arising from the Gulf crisis—obviously because a balance had to be struck between national interest and principles (like opposition to the use of force in inter-State dealings).

#### Tentative Exercise

India, he made it clear, did not contemplate a mediatory or a good offices role but one of the objectives of the visit was to explore the chances of reversing the on-going escalation. This exercise remained tentative, he said. Though the discussions did not reveal much of a meeting ground, efforts to this end needed to be continued.

The status of the Indian embassy in Kuwait too figures in his talks. There was little option for the missions located in Kuwait but to comply with the Iraqi decision that no embassies function there. The Consulate-General in Basra (which is likely to be the most used route for repatriation), will be strengthened. Mr. Gujral did not amplify the decision to comply with the Iraqi order. But, the Kuwait embassy in New Delhi continued to function—indicating that deeper meanings were not to be read into the closure of the Indian mission in Kuwait.

Iraq and Kuwait account for over 40 percent of India's oil imports and, therefore, an important part of the discussions abroad related to ways for meeting the shortfall to be caused by the sanctions. According to Mr. Gujral, the responses both in Moscow and Washington were "generally encouraging". The U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. James Baker, spoke of his Government's support for the proposal for the increase of production by Gulf producers and others so that the overall shortage and its adverse effects on prices and availability could be minimized. And the Soviet Government immediately agreed to seek alternative sources of supplies and to discuss details with Indian officials.

#### Positive Response

The Soviet Union was prepared to supply its oil but India would have to examine whether the offer could be availed of, he said.

Mr. Gujral informed Parliament of India's consultations with other countries, which too will feel the economic pinch of the crisis, to explore the possibility of approaching the U.N. for relief. The U.N. Charter, he said, visualized recourse to the Security Council for the "solution" of special problems facing the countries

affected by severe or draconian measures applied in any part of the world. (The Foreign Minister of the Philippines, which will be similarly affected, is due to come here tomorrow for consultations).

Apart from devising ways out of the economic burdens, India, he said, had to think of the possibility of de-escalating the crisis "before it engulfs the whole world." This will be in keeping with the trend towards global detente and otherwise appropriate in view of India's concern over destabilising effects of the crisis on the region. There was an additional reason to look for openings to defuse tensions—the decision of Pakistan and Bangladesh to send their forces to Saudi Arabia could well be used for further militarization of these countries, posing a threat to the security of the whole region.

Mr. Gujral utilized the opportunity to draw attention to the various elements of India's Gulf policy: (1) opposition to the use of force in dealings between states and call for the earliest possible withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait, (2) disapproval of unilateral action outside the U.N. framework by any country to enforce the sanctions mandated by the world body and (3) opposition to the presence or induction of foreign military forces and the role of Arab League and NAM [non-aligned movement].

#### PTI-UNI Report:

Mr. Gujral said the Iraqi authorities were processing Indian requests for direct flights from Baghdad or Basra to India and hoped that it would be finalized in a short time.

He said it had been agreed to use passenger ships also but this was dependent on the present state of interdiction policies. The Iraqi authorities have agreed to release a ship called 'M.V. Safir.'

Gujral brings letters: Mr. Gujral has brought a word of cheer for the family members and relatives of the Indians stranded in Kuwait. He has brought with him 15 large sacks full of letters from the stranded Indians to be posted from here to their families and friends who were anxious to receive news about them.

#### Expected Effects of Middle East Crisis Outlined

91AS0031A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
22 Aug 90 p 11

[Article by K.K. Sharma]

[Text] New Delhi, 21 August: Finance ministry officials fear that the current crisis in the Gulf, which has led to a stoppage of crude oil supplies from Iraq and Kuwait, could cripple the economy whether or not the oil is allowed to be imported by India.

If alternative oil supplies cannot be arranged, India will be short of over 8 million tonnes of crude or about 40 percent of its total import of 19 million tonnes.

Iraq supplies 2.5 million tonnes and Kuwait another 1.5 million tonnes under the agreements reached with them. In addition, nearly 4 million tonnes supplied by the USSR comes from Iraq under a swap arrangement.

A shortage of around 20 percent of crude needed by Indian refineries would mean a serious shortage of refined products and this would severely damage the economy since indigenous crude production cannot be increased.

Oil from Assam, Gujarat and offshore fields like Bombay High has been stagnant at just over 30 million tonnes for several years. Several minor new fields have been found, but production from them will not make a material difference to oil supplies.

On the other hand, even if crude is imported from Iraq and Kuwait or alternative arrangements are made, the rise in world oil prices would still damage the economy. The petroleum ministry has estimated that the additional cost of oil would reach a staggering Rs [rupees] 3,000 crores.

Through cuts imposed on oil consumption about a month ago, the government had hoped that the 1990-91 oil import bill would be kept roughly at the last year's level of Rs 6,700 crores. This is now impossible.

Thus, even if alternative oil supplies can be arranged, the impact of the imports would virtually wipe out the country's foreign exchange reserves which now stand at just under Rs 5,000 crores, or worth just over a month's total imports. This is a dangerously low level.

The reserves will further be depleted by the considerable drop in remittances from Indians working in the Gulf region. These amount to roughly Rs 2,000 crores a year. Taken with the additional cost of oil, the reserves would be virtually wiped out in the next few months.

There are roughly two million Indians working in all Arab countries and of them just over 250,000 are in Iraq and Kuwait. Hundreds of thousands of them are expected to give up their jobs and return home because of the unsettled conditions in the region.

Apart from the sharp drop in remittances from these Indians, India stands to lose considerable foreign exchange earnings because of the fall in exports to the region. The blockade of ports and the presence of naval vessels there is likely to deter normal cargo ships to go to the area.

In addition, India stands to lose heavily because many reconstruction contracts, including those for laying railway tracks, in Iraq and other countries are expected to come to a standstill. Iraq already owes more than Rs 500 crores to India from previous contracts.

**CPI-M Politburo Condemns U.S. Actions in Gulf**  
*91AS0035A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English*  
15 aug 90 p 6

[Text] New Delhi, 18 August: The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] today blamed the deployment of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia and the gulf for the escalating tensions in the region and called for its immediate withdrawal.

Strongly condemning the U.S. military intervention in the region, the CPI(M) politburo said, "This can lead to no solution but, on the contrary, further aggravate the situation. U.S. imperialism's role in perpetuating the conflict in West Asia stands completely exposed."

Pointing out that the U.S. had not even exerted pressure against Israeli expansion and occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza-Strip, it said, "The USA all along has disrupted unity to advance its interests in the region. It is only natural that thousands of people in various Arab countries have risen in protest against this U.S. intervention."

While criticising Iraq's action Kuwait, the CPI(M) said it was of the "considered opinion that the solution to the crisis must emerge from amongst the Arab countries themselves without any outside intervention."

**Saudi Envoy Promises Oil, Explains Situation**  
*91AS0039A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English*  
21 Aug 90 p 8

[Text] New Delhi, 20 August: Saudi Arabia is ready to increase its petroleum production by 2 million barrels per day to stabilise production levels and world prices so that countries such as India do not suffer from any shortage, the Saudi Arabian ambassador, Mr Fouadi S. Moufidi said here today.

OPEC countries would be willing to raise their production quotas since the OPEC policy was for stability in world prices, the ambassador said. Saudi Arabia would increase its present production of 5.5 million barrels per day by another 2 million barrels, he added.

Saudi Arabian territory will not be used for any offensive action against Iraq or any other Arab country by foreign military forces. The United States forces and those belonging to other foreign countries were in Saudi Arabia at the request of the Saudi government and would leave the country at its request when the threat to Saudi Arabia disappears, Mr Moufidi said. There was an official agreement to this effect, he added.

Iraq had moved 175,000 troops to the Saudi border and "we could not take the risk after what happened in Kuwait" the ambassador said. "And we were obliged to ask for help from Arab and non-Arab friends for our sovereignty, integrity and honour." While Saudi Arabia understood the anguish of the Indian families, whose relatives were stranded in Kuwait, to the question of the

naval blockade resulting in food shortage in Kuwait, the Saudi ambassador replied that if Iraq leaves Kuwait, peace would prevail and there would be no need for force by the foreign powers and "everything would be resolved."

Mr Moufidi declined to comment on the Indian view that though the economic sanctions were mandated by the United Nations Security Council, the naval blockade did not fall within the UN Charter. He said that it was a matter of theory on which he was not competent to comment. On the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait and the threat to Saudi Arabia were interlinked and could not be isolated from each other. The liberation of Kuwait is the responsibility of the world community and the Arab world was responsible for assisting and helping in "ending the Iraqi occupation by all means" the ambassador said.

The ambassador added that Saudi Arabia understood the circumstances which guide Indian policy on the Gulf developments and the anguish of the Indian community with relatives in the Gulf region, in response to a question on the Indian stand on the Gulf situation.

PTI adds: Shipping sources said today that movement of crude to India by oil tankers from Iran, Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi has not been affected.

The sources said till today seven giant tankers of the Shipping Corporation of India (SCI) alone had taken crude from oil terminals in these countries and five of them had already arrived in various Indian ports, including Cochin for discharge to various refineries.

The SCI's tanker, "Lance Naik Karan Singh," carrying 40,000 tonnes of crude from Iran arrived at the Cochin port today and was expected to be berthed tomorrow for discharge of crude to the Cochin refineries.

The sources said two more tankers had also taken more than one lakh tonnes of crude, including 58,000 tonnes from an Iranian oil terminal on Friday and today and were expected to reach Indian ports by the weekend.

Another three tankers of the SCI were scheduled to reach Saudi Arabian ports during the last week of the month and first week of next month to take 3.5 lakh tonnes of crude from Saudi Arabian oil terminals.

The sources said by the first week of next month the SCI's oil tankers alone would have brought about seven lakh tonnes of crude to India, if the present schedules of supply were adhered to.

**Problems of Steps in Protecting Oil Supply Reviewed**

**Serious Crude Shortage**

*91AS0040A Madras THE HINDU in English*  
17 Aug 90 p 9

[Words in boldface as published; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 16 August—If Iraq's annexation of Kuwait either leads to a limited war involving the U.S. and its allies, or stretches the blockade around Iraq and Kuwait for long, "India might soon be sitting on a virtually empty oil barrel." This is in sharp contrast to the U.S. and its allies, sharpness of having built up nearly six months stock of crude oil.

Official sources, while refusing to take an alarmist view of the oil scenario, nevertheless admitted today that the situation was 'quite serious' and unless new sources for crude oil supplies were tied up within the next two weeks things could indeed become critical for the country. Of the estimated total consumption of petroleum products for 1990-91 at 58.87 million tonnes, crude imports were to account for 18.5 million tonnes. Besides the Soviet Union, Saudi Arabia and some other countries in the Gulf, Iraq and Kuwait together were to supply 50 percent of India's imports aggregating 8.75 million tonnes. In fact the two countries have been meeting 50 percent of India's total import requirement.

The demand growth has been particularly pronounced in the case of motor spirit and high speed diesel (HSD). For instance, during 1989-90, the demand for motor spirit increased by 14.4 percent and HSD by 10.7 percent. The demand increase in HSD was of special significance as it accounted for nearly 40 percent of the total consumption of petroleum products and was fully import dependent.

While the Union Minister for Petroleum and Natural Gas, Mr M.S. Gurupadaswamy, said here recently that the current petroleum stocks could meet only four weeks' requirement, official sources explained that the total storage capacity in the country was not more than six weeks at any given point of time. All the contracted imports based on prevalent spot market prices flow into the country on a monthly basis. The contracts could be either on calendar year basis or financial year basis and in the case of Iraq it was based on financial year. If the fiscal year is taken as the base, already four months imported crude supplies covering the period April to July 1990 have already arrived. A part of this has been consumed and the balance gone into the four weeks inventory.

**Teams for Malaysia, USSR:** The sources said in view of the urgency, official teams were being sent to Malaysia, USSR and Saudi Arabia to arrange for import of nearly three million tonnes of crude on an emergency basis. With India having no control over the spot markets, price obviously could not be a consideration. The Prime Minister, Mr V.P. Singh, addressing the nation on Independence Day, had stated that a mere \$1 increase in the price of a barrel of oil had cost the country an additional Rs 400 [rupees] crores. However, between 2 August when Iraq invaded Kuwait and now the oil prices had zoomed by nearly \$6 to \$7, slapping a hefty (additional) bill of Rs 3,000 crores in foreign exchange on India.

The import of crude and petroleum products has been rising both in terms of quantity and value over the last

five years. Compared to an import of 19 million tonnes comprising 15.1 million tonnes of crude oil valued at Rs 3,686 crores and products of 3.865 million tonnes valued at Rs 1,273 crores (total of Rs 4,960 crores) at the beginning of Seventh Plan in 1985-86, the total import in 1989-90 or end of the Plan was 26.508 million tonnes comprising 19.359 million tonnes of crude valued at Rs 3,919 crores and 7.149 million tonnes of products valued at Rs 2,480 crores (total of Rs 6,399 crores) respectively.

The crude bill in relation to the quantum had not increased substantially because of stable and at times falling world oil prices. Unfortunately this was not the situation today. Based on the demand projections for 1990-91 and price expectations prior to Iraq's annexation of Kuwait, the import bill was estimated at Rs 8,500 crores. But in view of the skyrocketing prices, the bill may now cross Rs 10,000 crores, it is feared.

**A lesson learnt:** A lesson India has apparently learnt from the unexpected turn of events in the Gulf has been its total lack of attention that should have been paid for building up oil storage facilities. When the going was good, storage hardly topped the priority list and now that both prices and crude availability seemed to be nearly out of control, the significance of storage was being realised. The drop in oil stock might first affect the refineries which have a total refining capacity of 52 million tonnes. Thus, if there is any rationing, it might first begin with the refineries themselves, as the Government cannot simply afford to keep them idle considering the fact that almost all of them have been operating at nearly 97 percent of their rated capacity.

### Duty on Automobiles

91AS0040B Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
23 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 22 August: The government today decided to raise the excise duty on motor cars by 10 percent ad valorem in an attempt to reduce the consumption of petrol in the wake of the Gulf crisis.

The Union finance minister, Professor Madhu Dandavate, announced the decision in both Houses of Parliament. The excise duty now goes up from 40 percent to 50 percent. He also announced a reduction in the rate of depreciation from 33.33 percent to 20 percent for cars bought on or after 1 April this year.

Replying to clarifications in the Rajya Sabha, Prof. Dandavate strongly denied the charge made by some members that the measures were a backdoor method to mop up revenue to bridge the growing deficit. He pointed out that the revenue from these measures would be only Rs 92 [rupees] crores, a microscopic portion of the total revenue collection. The measures were more in the nature of disincentives to reduce the purchase of cars.

Apart from these "disincentive" measures, the finance minister said, "As part of a programme for curbing

demand for oil, it has been decided that Central government staff cars/vehicles will not be used on Sundays. Public sector units will follow the same rule on Sundays. State governments are also being requested to adopt this rule. The quota of petrol for cars of ministers in the Central government is also being reduced by 20 per cent."

Prof. Dandavate also asked the general public and business, industrial and all other establishments to "voluntarily give up the use of their cars for one day a week. They can choose any fixed day of the week." While stating that the government would urge families, schools, colleges and communities to make a public resolve to make this small sacrifice, the minister said, "Public efforts in this direction are much better than a directive from the top."

Concrete suggestions: Prof Dandavate readily accepted several concrete suggestions to reduce the consumption of petrol—the most significant of which was a freeze in the manufacture of private cars for some time.

Cutting across party lines, members felt the government's proposals were too insignificant and did not touch the heart of the problem.

A large number of members suggested that the government should instead disallow the manufacture of cars, reduce the number of cars accompanying ministers, introduce vans or car-sharing to reduce the number of vehicles used by senior government servants, promote fuel efficient technologies and introduce petrol rationing if necessary.

Responding to the suggestions, Prof Dandavate said he would seriously consider measures to curb the manufacture of cars and also curb easy loans given to individuals for the purchase of private cars. "I would like to revive the policy of allowing the expansion of the automobile industry only in the case of public transport," he said. On the issue of petrol rationing, he said it would be meaningless to announce such a measure in advance and the decision would be "swift and lightning" if it was taken at all.

Security cars: He also agreed that barring exceptional circumstances, ministers should not be accompanied by a fleet of cars carrying security personnel. Securitymen should travel in the same care as the minister. In the face of all-round appreciation that the finance minister himself stuck to one car, Prof. Dandavate modestly said, "I don't need security because terrorists don't take me seriously."

#### Instructions to Government Offices

91AS0040C Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
18 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 17 August—Instructions have been issued to Central Government Ministries/Departments and public sector undertakings to reduce their petrol and diesel consumption by 20 percent compared to the

consumption in 1989-90, the Deputy Finance Minister, Mr Anil Shastri informed the Lok Sabha today.

An order has been issued that with effect from 1 June, an amount of Rs 75 [rupees] a month will be recovered in respect of officers of the level of Joint Secretary and Rs 100 a month in respect of officers of the level of Additional Secretary and above, who avail themselves of transport facility, he said.

#### Indo-Soviet Oil Exploration Protocol

91AS0040D New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English  
11 Aug 90 p 9

[Text] India and the Soviet Union signed a protocol delineating the future course of cooperation between the two countries in the field of oil exploration, reports UNI [UNITED NEWS OF INDIA].

The protocol was signed in the Capital on Friday on the conclusion of the Eighth meeting of the Indo-Soviet Working Group on Cooperation in the field of oil industry.

Deputy Minister of the Soviet oil and gas industry A.K. Mukhametzianov and Secretary of Petroleum and Natural Gas of India Dr Madhav Godbold signed the protocol on behalf of the two governments.

The protocol provided for the detailed programme of work in the intensive and integrated exploration projects in the North Cambay and Cauvery basins, Petroleum Ministry sources here said.

The sources said the protocol also provides for accelerating the pace of data acquisition for projects in the West Bengal basin. A detailed programme of seismic survey in West Bengal was handed over to the Indian side by the Soviet delegation during the meeting.

The protocol further provides for training of Indian experts in the Soviet Union and the establishment of a computer centre at Jorhat in Assam.

The sources said the two sides also agreed to continue efforts for maximum operational efficiency so that the ultimate aim of the establishment of commercial reserves at minimum cost was achieved at the earliest.

The two countries agreed for inter-action between the professional institutes in the field of oil exploration in the two countries and for exporting possibilities for setting up joint ventures by the two countries.

#### Find Off Jamaica

91AS0040E Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 19 Aug 90 p 10

[Words in italics as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 18 August—Indian oceanographers, helping their Caribbean counter-parts, have detected significant oil deposits off the Jamaican coast.



The potential oil reserves are spread over several thousands of square kilometres. This information has never been made public by western oil companies.

This was disclosed here by the director of the National Institute of Oceanography (NIO), Dr B.N. Desai, and Dr Arun Wagh, a senior oceanographer at the NIO, who led the Indian team to the Caribbean Islands.

The indicators of the oil deposits were detected during the month-long cruise of India's research ship, *Sagar Kanya* to train the Caribbean scientists, around the islands.

After training a large number of Caribbean scientists, the ship cruised around the islands from 14 April to 24 May. The Indian team returned home last week.

Indian scientists undertook this work under the project CARE (Caribbean Oceanography Resources Exploration), funded jointly by the government of India, the Commonwealth Science Council and the governments of 13 Caribbean countries under the South-South Co-operation Programme.

The project aims to use the capabilities of India in oceanographic research to help commonwealth countries. Thirteen Caribbean islands covered under the programme are Belize, Bahamas, Antigua and Barbados, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Grenada, Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana.

The survey was made in four cruises. In addition, *Sagar Kanya* made port calls at Kingston, Jamaica, Bahamas, Bridgetown, Barbados and Port of Spain.

The Indian team consisted of some 30 scientists, of whom 14 were from the NIO. Six Caribbean scientists participated in each of the four cruises. In all, some 60 Caribbean scientists benefitted from the programme.

During these cruises, about 45 stations were covered and the data on various oceanographic parameters such as temperature, salinity, nutrients such as phosphates, silicates and ammonia and the presence of zoo plankton biomass were collected.

The data are being currently analysed at the NIO and the findings of the survey are being interpreted. It will be given as a report to the respective countries by India on 11 September.

Dr Desai said: "Caribbean countries are happy with our work. For now they can make their own plans to fully utilise the resources available in their exclusive economic zones."

#### Oil From Iran, Malaysia

91AS0040F Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 19 Aug 90 p 9

[Article by R. Sasankan]

[Text] New Delhi, 18 August—Iran has come to India's help in the deepening oil crisis by agreeing to supply

300,000 tonnes of crude over and above the already-signed term contract.

There has been no positive response as yet from Saudi Arabia which alone has the surplus capacity to make up for the shortfall in oil supply triggered by the Kuwaiti crisis.

Top officials of Indian Oil Corporation would not confirm the deal with Iran. "We have requested them for additional oil, but there has been no commitment as yet from Iran," said a senior official. But Singapore-based petroleum industry circles, who monitor all deals in the international market, said a contract had already been signed and shipment would begin by the last week of this month.

It is not known whether the crude is Iranian heavy or light. India normally imports both. The purchase is from the spot market at variable prices. India had earlier signed a term contract with Iran for 1.5 million tonnes of crude in 1990-91.

The sources say India is not the only country being helped by Iran. It has also agreed to supply additional crude to Japan, South Korea and Taiwan.

Malaysia is the only other country which has promised to help India by supplying more oil. India has a contract with that country for import of 0.5 million tonnes of crude this year. But no fresh contract has yet been signed with Malaysia.

Diplomatic circles say Saudi Arabia had so far not agreed to pump more oil. India has good relations with Saudi Arabia, but it has so far not responded to this country's request for more oil. Diplomatic sources say the Prime Minister, Mr V.P. Singh, may take up the matter with King Fahd of Saudi Arabia.

The government is sending official delegations to Indonesia, the Soviet Union, Malaysia and West Asia for exploring the possibility of tying up oil imports. Mr Singh has said the country would face serious problems if the Gulf crisis continued for more than a month. India has stocks for four weeks which will be supplemented by indigenous production. There has been no disruption in oil supplies from countries other than Iraq and Kuwait. Iran, the UAE and Saudi Arabia have been sending shipments regularly for the quantities already concluded under term contracts.

The petroleum minister, Mr M.S. Gurupadaswamy, is keen to ensure that the finance ministry releases the necessary foreign exchange.

However, his vehement denials of the charge of goof-up in the petroleum purchase (twice through a news agency and later in a series of exclusive interviews) have concealed more facts than they revealed. The charge against the government was that it failed to make purchases at fixed rates in the spot market despite information that



prices were going to rise. Interestingly, the minister had not mentioned the term "fixed rate" in any of his denials.

The government had information that the prices were going to rise. This was confirmed by the finance minister, Prof Madhu Dandavate, in the Lok Sabha while replying to the debate on the price rise. "We did not anticipate Iraq's entry into Kuwait. We expected that the prices may go up due to some other extraneous factors and we used not wisdom, but common sense, and decided to purchase large quantities of oil," he said.

In addition, the government was also advised by one of its agencies that prices were going to rise and that the purchases should be made at fixed rate. Enquiries reveal that not even a barrel of oil was contracted under fixed rate. Instead, the government made purchases under variable prices from the spot market.

So, Mr Gurupadaswamy may be technically right that his ministry had not goofed up. Maybe the finance ministry failed to release the foreign exchange in time. Countries like Japan which make substantial oil purchases in the Dubai spot market went in for fixed rate deals.

#### **Demand Estimates, Production Plan**

91AS0040G Madras THE HINDU in English  
5 Sep 90 p 6

[Words in boldface as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 4 September—The Petroleum Minister, Mr M.S. Gurupadaswamy, told the Lok Sabha today that it was not possible to estimate precisely the additional expenditure likely to be incurred in the current year on oil imports due to price increase.

This was because of the prevailing volatile price situation and uncertainty regarding supply. Mr Gurupadaswamy told Dr K.P. Bopche and Mr Babanrao Dhakne in a written reply.

He said measures were being taken to achieve economy in expenditure involving foreign exchange, restrict imports and increase exports, contain demand of petroleum products to reasonable levels besides accelerating disbursement of external assistance.

The Minister said the demand for petrol was estimated at over 22.417 million tonnes between 1990 and 1995. The processing of imported and indigenous crude oil in refineries during 1990-91 was estimated at 51.18 million tonnes.

Mr Gurupadaswamy said steps to increase the production of crude oil included: prevention of decline in producing fields by measure such as introduction of artificial lift schemes as and when required, and periodical stimulation of wells to increase their production.

He said there were proposals for increasing the refining capacity through debottlenecking of existing refineries

and also for setting up of new grassroot refineries. It was also proposed to augment the motor spirit production at the existing refineries by installing reformers and debottlenecking of existing fluid catalytic crackers. Some of the proposals for new refineries include facilities for producing motor spirit.

Following are points from answers given in Parliament:

**Consumption:** During 1989-90, petroleum consumption was 3.4 million tonnes and consumption of all petroleum products was 5.3 million tonnes. It was estimated that a saving of about 1.8 million tonnes of petroleum products could be achieved during July 1990 to March 1991 through measures announced on 21 June this year.

**Madras Refineries:** There is no proposal before the Government to expand the Madras Refineries. However, it is now implementing under their capacity from 5.6 mtpa to 6.5 mtpa. The scheme is likely to be completed within the first quarter of 1992 at a cost of Rs 19 [rupees] crores.

#### **Oil From UAE, Other Gulf States**

91AS0040H Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
23 Aug 90 p 8

[Text] Dubai, 22 August (UNI)—Gulf countries are responding favourably to India's request for more oil than contracted for in the current fiscal year to help meet the fuel shortage sparked by Iraq's occupation of Kuwait.

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) last night became the third country to accept India's request, with President Shaikh Zayid himself offering to send a delegation to India to revise the bilateral contract for one million tonnes of oil.

The visiting Indian civil aviation and energy minister, Mr Arif Mohammed Khan, conveyed India's request to President Zayid at a meeting held last night.

Mr Khan, who was assisted at the talks by the Indian ambassador to the UAE, Mr Ranjit Sethi, told UNI [United News of India] that India would put up its requirements to the UAE government within the next few days and a deal would be signed when the UAE delegation visits New Delhi.

Before coming here, Mr Khan visited Saudi Arabia and Bahrain while the kingdom gave a "positive" response to India's request, the Bahraini government went out of the way to immediately divert a shipment of half a million tonnes to India. India was initially seeking petroleum products from Bahrain, but after knowing of India's difficulties, Bahrain offered oil as well.

India has contracted with Saudi Arabia for the April 1990 to March 1991 period, while with Bahrain, the quantities earlier agreed to were 100,000 tonnes of kerosene and 300,000 tonnes of crude oil.

**Assam Supply Shortage**

91AS0040I Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
30 Aug 90 p 6

[Text] New Delhi, 29 August—The Petroleum Minister, Mr M.S. Gurupadaswamy, told the Lok Sabha today that the situation on the petroleum front was going to be very serious. He hinted that some more stringent measures might become necessary to curb the consumption of oil.

However there was no cause for panic, he said. The Government had taken all steps to ensure that the distribution system remained intact, the Minister said in response to a calling attention notice tabled by Mr Ajit Kumar Panja and four others on the oil blockade by the All Assam Students' Union [AASU] and the closure of the Barauni, Guwahati and Bongaigaon refineries.

The Minister said Assam had given the country a jolt when it was facing serious problems due to the Kuwait crisis which nobody had anticipated. The path being pursued by the activists of the AASU was suicidal since peace in the region was necessary for any investment.

Mr Gurupadaswamy said he was strongly opposed to creating hurdles to the exploitation of the natural resources of a region for national development. But at the same time, he said, while exploiting the natural resources of the State, care should be taken to ensure local development.

Mr Gurupadaswamy said it was not correct to say that he and the Centre had done nothing to prevent the blockade. He had visited Assam and taken up the matter with the Chief Minister, Mr Prafulla Kumar Mahanta, and the AASU.

Most of the ONGC [Oil and Natural Gas Commission] installations in Assam had been closed due to the bandh. The agitators had not only been "threatening and man-handling" the ONGC personnel but also preventing them from working. They had been tampering with oil and gas wells also, he said.

The loss due to the oil blockade was estimated at Rs 80 [rupees] crores, he said.

Mr Gurupadaswamy said the Government was making all efforts to import crude oil to meet the growing demand for petroleum products. Malaysia had already offered to help India and there was a positive response from the Soviet Union.

The Minister said the Government would not allow the people to suffer for want of oil. It had sent a delegation to Indonesia and another was likely to visit West Asia in a day or two for exploring the possibility of getting crude oil.

One of the major problems for importing crude was lack of sufficient foreign exchange. Besides, the international crude price was fluctuating.

Mr Gurupadaswamy said he had requested the Finance Minister to release more foreign exchange than the Rs 6,740 crores earmarked for this purpose last year.

Mr Panja said the Government should have taken precautionary measures to prevent the blockade. Mr Tej Narain Singh (CPI) [Communist Party of India] alleged that the Government had adopted a soft attitude towards the agitators.

Mr Ramashray Prasad Singh (CPI) said the tendency to prevent the oil sector from functioning should not be encouraged. Mr Surya Narayan Singh (CPI) said the Barauni oil refinery was not functioning to its installed capacity of 3.3 million tones due to lack of crude supply.

Prof K.V. Thomas (Congress-I) also expressed concern over the closure of the oil refineries.

**Haldia Refinery Problems**

91AS0040J Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
30 Aug 90 p 7

[Text] Calcutta, 29 August—The Gulf crisis has affected the Indian Oil Corporation's Haldia refinery in West Bengal disrupting the normal flow of crude oil supplies.

Indian Oil sources said the refinery's crude stocks, including the shipments in the pipeline, would keep it going for 24 days against the average of 40 days. The refinery needs 8,000 tonnes of crude a day for its throughput but it is managing with about 7,500 tonnes a day. It is based on supplies from Iraq, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, with the bulk of them coming from Iraq and Kuwait. The design factor for processing the crude limits the refinery's options in exploring alternative sources of supplies.

However, the Centre is trying to get supplies from Indonesia and other South East Asian countries. But it is not clear whether the refinery could use crude with widely different chemical compositions.

With the refinery's effective capacity raised to 2.7 million tonnes a year from 2.5 million tonnes under a modernisation programme, the uncertainties surrounding supplies may have an adverse impact on the output in 1990-91 if alternative sources of supplies are not found in the next month or so.

**Panel Set Up To Plan Indo-Soviet Cooperation****Mission, Composition**

91AS0030A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 29 Aug 90 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 28 August—As a follow-up of the Prime Minister's visit to the Soviet Union in July this year, the government has now set up a high-level group to help prepare a profile of long-term trade and economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and India up to the year 2000 A.D.

The formation of the group has been necessitated by the economic restructuring taking place in the Soviet Union and the multiple-level official contact that would entail for furthering Indo-Soviet economic co-operation.

Given the Soviet move to give to the Republics and even the individual enterprises, it was agreed in the July talks in Moscow that merely Central-level contact would no longer suffice. While the republics will now formulate their own foreign economic relations, the enterprises want to sell only to those who pay cash-down, and that too in hard currency.

The new group set up by the Indian Government will try to establish contacts at different levels to overcome these problems which may change the nature of not only Indo-Soviet trade but also the new forms of economic co-operation being envisaged between the two countries.

The group which would work within the framework of the Indo-Soviet joint commission will have a three-tier membership comprising government officials, representatives of the public sector and representatives of the private sector.

The commerce minister, Mr Arun Nehru, will be the convenor of the group and the foreign secretary, the finance secretary, the industries secretary and the special secretary in the prime minister's office will also be on the group. The public sector will be represented by the chairman of Bharat Business International Limited, Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited, Oil and Natural Gas Commission, Indian Petrochemicals Ltd.

The private sector will be represented by the nominees of the Confederation of Engineering Industries, FICCI [Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry], Assocham [Associated Chamber of Commerce] and the Federation of Associations of Small Industries.

The group is to address fundamental issues of trade and economic co-operation between India and the Soviet Union taking into account the changes taking place in the Soviet Union.

It is to work out targets of growth of trade, examine and define the scope of joint-ventures and co-operation schemes and suggest specific measures and frameworks to extend and deepen Indo-Soviet economic co-operation.

#### 29 August Meeting

91AS0030B Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 30 Aug 90 p 14

[Text] New Delhi, 29 August—The high-level mixed group on long-term trade and economic co-operation between India and the Soviet Union has emphasised the importance of emerging opportunities as a result of the changes in the Soviet economy.

The group met on Wednesday under the chairmanship of Mr Arun Nehru, minister for commerce. He wanted the group to focus on new areas of co-operation such as investments and industrial co-operation through joint-ventures involving both the public and private sectors.

Mr Nehru asked the group to look beyond the parameters of merely enhancing the trade volumes and suggest approaches which would help in achieving the desired expansion of mutual co-operation in the new areas.

The minister felt there was strong political will on both sides to strengthen bilateral ties and this would give the desired impetus to trade. Commercial intelligence should also be strengthened, he said.

The meeting noted that Indo-soviet trade had grown rapidly in recent years and the target to raise the bilateral trade by two and a half times over the period 1986-91 was expected to be achieved.

The meeting was attended by Mr S.P. Shukla, commerce secretary and convenor of the group, Mr A.N. Verma, secretary, industrial development, Mr Montek Singh Alhwalia, special secretary in the Prime Minister's office and representatives of the public and private sectors including Mr S.V.S. Raghavan, BBIL, and Mr S.K. Birla, president, FICCI [Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry].

#### Mandal Report Implementation Brings Dissension

##### Consensus Not Reached

91AS0038A Madras THE HINDU in English  
4 Sep 90 p 1

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 3 September—The Government failed tonight at the end of a marathon five-hour meeting to secure the endorsement of the major political parties for its announcement of caste-based reservation of 27 percent in Central Government service for the ill-defined socially and educationally backward classes [SEBC] indicated in the Mandal Commission report. However, briefing newsmen later, the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, Mr P. Upendra, did say that all parties were agreed to the concept of reservations for the SEBCs.

Answering a spate of questions, Mr Upendra said the Government did not propose to budge from what it had already announced. The purpose of proposing a meeting of all the parties with the Government was only to elicit the views of various parties, and to arrive at a consensus', he stated.

##### Joint Appeal

The only real consensus among the 25 parties present today was to issue a joint appeal to calm tempers in the wake of the anti-reservation agitation engulfing the country. The all-party meeting called on 'all sections of

the people, particularly the youth and student community, to eschew violence, and expresses its deep sense of sorrow over the loss of lives and public property in the recent agitation.'

Even the Government proposal for a reservation of 5 to 10 percent based on economic considerations, aside from the Mandal recommendation, could not be clinched, as the Government could not decide what the upper limit of all reservations taken together should be in the light of the limit of 50 percent placed by a Supreme Court direction. Further discussion is indicated on this.

The leader of the Opposition, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, said while talking to newsmen that according to the Law Minister, Mr Dinesh Goswami, reservations of more than 50 percent of all jobs may not necessarily be struck down, but could be difficult.

This opens up a major question. If the Government does not wish to cross the 50 percent limit, it would either have to give up the idea of job quotas for the deserving but poor among the non-SEBCs. Alternatively, it would have to accommodate them within the 27 percent already announced. In that case, the quota for the SEBCs would have to be whittled down.

Mr Gandhi said caste as a 'definer' would be 'very divisive.' At this stage, he said the best the Government could do was to keep an open mind on the whole question, and come back with a paper, termed 'non-paper' so that the Government may not be held down to it, for the purpose of more intensive discussion. Mr Upendra, however, said the government had no such thing in mind.

#### Exhaustive Discussion

Besides the Prime Minister, Mr V.P. Singh, the Government fielded 13 Ministers tonight. These included all members of the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs. Every single party in Parliament, big or small, was represented by its seniormost leaders. Never before on any other issue in the nine months since it came to power, the Government has held such an all-inclusive and exhaustive single-session discussion.

The CPI [Communist Party of India] leader, Mr Indrajit Gupta, is understood to have suggested that the Government first approach the Supreme Court for a clarification if reservations beyond 50 percent would be valid; and, if so, what the limit might be.

#### Review After a Decade

Mr Upendra was asked if any party had supported the Government's reservation decision in all its aspects. He repeatedly answered 'a number of parties' had. But he would not identify a single. He refused even to say if any of the parties supporting the minority National Front government endorsed the Government position entirely. He said, however, that one of the points of agreement among the parties present was that the reservation policy

as announced would be reviewed after 10 years. From this he attempted to derive the inference that the government policy was broadly acceptable to all. He announced a Parliament debate on the subject tomorrow.

Today's meeting was originally to have only been on the Government proposal of 5 to 10 percent reservation in addition to the Mandal recommendation. The Congress(I) said it was not interested in debating such a 'limited' issue. In the afternoon leaders of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], the CPI and the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist], Mr A.B. Vajpayee, Mr L.K. Advani, Mr Indrajit Gupta and Mr Somnath Chatterjee, met the Prime Minister and indicated that the proposed meeting would not have much relevance if the entire gamut of reservations, including the Mandal report, was kept out of the framework of discussion.

The Prime Minister then agreed that participants could raise all connected issues, a euphemism in the context for the Mandal report. Accordingly, at the last minute the Government sent out freshly worded invitations to all parties, including the Congress(I). Mr Gandhi claimed that before he took part in the discussions, he persuaded the Prime Minister to repeat that the Government's mind was 'open' on the entire issue, including Mandal, in spite of the Government's decision of 7 August concretised in a notification on 12 August. The outcome, showed, however, that the Government's mind was far open.

#### For Minorities

The entire gamut of issues involved in the reservations debate was brought up at the meeting, particularly the questions of economic criteria within the Mandal castes as well as independently, and also reservations for the minorities, women, the handicapped etc. Mr S.S. Owaisi, the leader of the Ittehadul Muslimeen from Hyderabad, told newsmen that the Government had accepted in principle reservations for the minorities. But the percentage was still to be worked out. It was not clear, he said, if this would be within the 27 percent already announced, or in addition to it.

The Bharatiya Janata Party president, Mr L.K. Advani, felt that it would have been better if the all-party meeting had been held before the Government took its decision on the reservation issue. He told newsmen after the meeting tonight that the entire situation on the issue could have been different if this exercise had been carried out prior to the decision.

#### 'Think of Next Generation'

He said the BJP leader, Mr A.B. Vajpayee, observed at the meeting that it seemed that most leaders were thinking in terms of the next elections. "I think we would have to think of the next generation as well," Mr Advani quoted Mr Vajpayee as saying.

He felt reservation on caste basis would only create a "sharp divide" in the society, he said adding there should be economic dimension to the reservation.

Mr Advani said excepting the Janata Dal and the CPI, all other major parties felt reservation on caste basis would only perpetuate the "vice of casteism." He said to have reservation on caste basis would certainly not promote the attempt to create a casteless society.

The CPI leader, Mr A.B. Vardhan, said that such an issue cannot be decided upon by one meeting.

### Congress-I Stand

91AS0038B Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
31 Aug 90 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 30 August—The Congress(I) has qualified its stand on the recommendations of the Mandal Commission with the proposal that, while it is not opposed to the reservation of 27 percent government and public sector jobs for deserving persons, backwardness should not be defined only in terms of caste divisions but rather on the basis of economic status.

At the end of night-long deliberations on 29-30 August, the CWC(I) [Congress Working Committee] came out with a 2,000 word resolution decrying the "politically motivated" 7 August announcement of the Prime Minister, Mr V.P. Singh of what it called "half-baked implementation of the Mandal Commission report" which had "plunged the country into a caste war."

"It is imperative that any scheme of job reservations for the backward classes takes cognisance of the reality of gradations in backwardness among the groups, communities, castes and classes constituting the backward classes," said the resolution. In its view it is essential to give preference to socially and economically disadvantaged segments of the backward classes over the relatively advanced sections.

Specifying the categories of people who should not be eligible for the benefits available for backward classes, the CWC(I) called for the exclusion of fee-paying students of public schools, children of grade A and B government personnel, qualified professionals (doctors, engineers, chartered accountants, etc.). Ministers of the Central or a State Government, judges, taxpayers and owners of land holdings beyond a specified size.

Mr V.N. Gadgil, Congress(I) spokesman, who briefed reporters this evening on the eight-hour long deliberations, said the CWC(I) had discussed the Mandal Commission report in depth and in all its aspects. "We are not against reservation in jobs but we do protest against the authoritarian manner in which the Prime Minister has imposed it unilaterally," he said.

Mr Gadgil recalled that the 1951 amendment of the Constitution talked of socially and educationally backward classes and not castes. Jawaharlal Nehru recognised

that no doubt caste was a factor but it was by no means the only factor. "Caste is not synonymous with class."

Rajiv's formula: The question therefore arose as to who should be the beneficiaries of reservations. The formula enunciated by the Congress(I) president, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, wanted that the poor among the so-called nonbackward castes get the advantage of reservations.

While agreeing that 27 percent jobs under the government and in the public sector should be reserved, the CWC(I) wanted a fresh definition of those eligible for such jobs. Mr Gadgil clarified that the CWC(I) did not want any dilution of the 22.5 percent reservation now available exclusively for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

"To move with all deliberate speed to our larger objective of establishing a casteless and classless society, the need of the hour is a well-considered, exhaustive, overall programme of affirmative action in favour of the backward classes as envisaged in our Constitution," said the resolution.

It accused the National Front Government of playing games with the people instead of making equitable opportunities available to the under-privileged segments of the society. In the CWC(I)'s view "the National Front Government and the Prime Minister are resorting to populist gimmicks, the main beneficiaries of which will be the rich and the powerful."

It called upon the Prime Minister to build up a national consensus to bring about "a revolutionary social transformation without generating social tension or precipitating social conflict. Such an approach alone would be in keeping with the great and abiding traditions set by Mahatma Gandhi through the historic Yeravda Pact of 1932." It also invoked Rabindranath Tagore's call for breaking "narrow domestic walls" to build up a harmonious society.

### CPI-M Position

91AS0038C Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
31 Aug 90 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, 30 August—The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] today criticised the Government for the manner in which it has announced job reservation for backward classes, but supported the implementation of the Mandal Commission's recommendations.

Arguing for the introduction of an economic criterion within the reservation quota for backward classes, the CPI(M) general secretary, Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, said that consultations were going on with the Government and political parties to defuse the tension over the issue.

Mr Namboodiripad told a press conference here that a solution to "bridge the chasm between the backward classes and the forward castes" could be worked out by accepting reservation on the pattern adopted by the

Bihar Government. "The government should have consulted everybody and something on the lines of the Bihar pattern could have been worked out on an all-India basis. Unfortunately, this was not done. It can still be done," he said.

Speaking about the party's four day central committee meeting that ended on Tuesday, Mr Namboodiripad said it urged the Government "to give due consideration to the Bihar experience in providing reservation for backward classes."

Bihar had two lists of backward classes. The first provided for 12 percent reservation without economic criterion. The second list of backward classes got 8 percent reservation on the basis of an economic criterion. Three percent was reserved for the poor among forward classes and 3 percent more for women.

Mr Namboodiripad said the CPI(M) central committee felt that "a consensus on this sensitive issue would have helped prevent agitations, which divide the people in caste lines." He, however, did not agree with a questionnaire that the issue of reservation had relegated to the background all other matters such as the Ayodhya dispute, rising prices, and the industrial policy.

Consultations going on with Govt: Mr Namboodiripad repeatedly stressed that consultations were going on with the Government and all other political parties on the issue. He, however, was critical of the statements made by some Cabinet Ministers suggesting that backward classes should come out into the streets to counter the anti-reservation agitations. "Responsible leaders should make it their business to bridge the chasm between backward and forward classes. Such statements do not help," he said.

### Left, BJP Formula

91AS0038D Madras THE HINDU in English  
30 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, 29 August—Strong pressures are discernible within the ruling triangle at the Centre for a rational look at the reservation issue so as to halt the divisive trend set in motion by the Government's decision on the Mandal Commission report. The representatives of the Left parties and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata party] have worked out a formula among themselves and this is intended to be the basis of their discussions with the Prime Minister, Mr V.P. Singh. Individually, the leaders of both sides have spoken to the Prime Minister already on the subject.

Under the formula, the 5 to 10 percent quota of Government jobs, proposed by the Prime Minister for the economically weaker sections, is exclusively for those not covered by reservations so far. In other words, those who are to benefit from the recently-announced 27 percent reservation on the basis of social and education

backwardness as also the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, which are entitled to 22.5 percent quota, are intended to be kept outside the purview of the proposed concession for the poor. This, it is felt, will help counter the criticism that the reservation policy does not take care of the poor among the "forward" classes.

### Faint Hint of Review

The supporting parties, at the same time, stick to their plea for introducing economic criteria even in the 27 percent quota announced for the backward classes, other than the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. There is, however, no hope of their convincing the Prime Minister (on this count) because of his oft-repeated emphasis against diluting the commitment in terms of the Mandal Commission report.

There is evidence, though faint, of a rethinking with in the Janata Dal on the issues raised by the Prime Minister's 7 August announcement on the Mandal report. This is in addition to the revulsion against the conduct of the two Central Ministers, Mr Sharad Yadav and Mr Ram Vilas Paswan, who called upon the residents of the "Jhuggi-Jhonpuri" colonies to take to the streets for a "fitting reply" to students agitating against the Mandal Commission report. The defensive explanations of the two Ministers that they merely pleaded for invoking "Lok Shakti," (People's power) has not carried conviction.

Mr Yashwant Sinha, member of the Janata Dal PAC [Political Affairs Committee], today wrote to the Prime Minister specifying modalities for implementing the Mandal recommendations. Mr Sinha wants that

- 1) a cut-off income level be specified above which reservation benefits need not be given on the basis of social and educational backwardness,
- 2) only one generation of the classes, covered by the Government decision, be entitled to reservations,
- 3) quota considerations be kept out at the stage of promotions, and
- 4) there be no dilution of "minimum standards." Senior Janata Dal leaders do not mince words in private conversation, about the damage done by the Prime Minister's abrupt move. That his primary purpose in announcing acceptance of the Mandal report on 7 August was to pre-empt the former Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Devi Lal, who then intended to demonstrate his strength through a rally two days later (and actually did) was generally accepted. A move widely perceived to have originated out of the factional struggle could not command respect, especially after the strong backlash, in the form of the agitation by students.

The ideological facade sought to be put on has not succeeded in covering its real character. Had the Devi Lal episode not surfaced, the Prime Minister would not have felt pressured to come out with the move. In that case, he would not have needed to appease and rely on,

say, Mr Sharad Yadav (once known to be close to Mr Devi Lal, he switched over to the Prime Minister's side later.)

Now that the immediate purpose of countering Mr Devi Lal is over, the "27 percent" quota is being projected by the Prime Minister's associates as a master stroke that could work electoral magic and enlist the support of 52 percent of the population, represented by the intended beneficiaries of the Mandal report. What stands out now is the strength of their belief in this assumption. Whether it will work that way in practice is hard to say. In 1980, it did not help the late Karpooori Thakur, the architect of the reservation policy in Bihar. Will it benefit Mr V.P. Singh in 1990 or later?

Confusion, mess, uncertainty—this appears to be the outlook now that social fragmentation has received a major fillip in one stroke. The student agitation may peter out, mainly because it is not sustained by an organised force. None of the political parties has extended open support to it, though there is no dearth of sympathy for the students' cause. The damage to the polity, however, has been done—national integration has been put in the reverse gear, new divisive barriers have been erected, and polarisation on caste lines threatens to promote anarchic trends.

#### Cabinet Approval Got

PTI reports:

The Government took the decision to implement the Mandal Commission recommendations after due consideration and approval of the Union Cabinet, an official spokesman said today while denying reports that there were differences in the Cabinet or in the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs on the issue.

#### Review Suggested

91AS0038E New Delhi PATRIOT in English  
20 Aug 90 p 6

[Text] The Mandal Commission which recommended 27 percent job reservation for socially and educationally Backward Classes and favoured promotion quotas for them at all levels has suggested a review after 20 years, reports PTI.

The Commission has said that candidates belonging to Other Backward Classes (OBC) recruited on merit basis in open competition should not be adjusted against the 27 percent quota and that if the quota is not filled it should be carried forward for three years and dereserved thereafter.

Relaxation in the upper age limit for direct recruitment should be extended to OBC candidates just as in the case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, according to the report.

It also recommended the launching of an intensive and time bound programme for adult education in selected pockets with high concentration of OBC population.

"This will be a basic approach to motivate parents to take serious interest in education their children," it observed.

Residential schools should be set up for Backward Class students to provide a climate specially conducive to serious studies.

All facilities in these schools, including board and lodging would have to be provided free of cost to attract students from poor and backward homes.

Separate government hostels for OBCs students with the above facilities would be another step in the right direction, the report said.

The report said a beginning on both these fronts would have to be made on a limited scale and selective basis. But the scope of these activities should be expanded as fast as the resources permit.

The report observes that education was the best catalyst of change and educating the Backward Classes was the surest way to improve their self-image and raise their social status.

"As OBCs cannot afford the high wastage rates of our educational system, it is very important that their education is highly biased in favour of vocational training."

As the reservation in services would absorb only a very small percentage of educated backward classes and the rest should be suitably equipped with vocational skills to enable them to get a return on having invested several years in education, it said.

The report said while implementing the provision for reservation it should also be ensured that the candidates who were admitted against the reserved quota were enabled to derive full benefit of higher studies.

Special coaching facilities should also be arranged for all those students coming from an impoverished cultural background, in the technical and professional institutions.

The report suggested that suitable institutional finance and technical assistance should be made available to the members of village vocational communities who wanted to set up small scale industries on their own.

Similar assistance should also be provided to those promising OBC candidates who have obtained special vocational training, it said.

It also suggested the setting up of separate financial institutions for providing financial and technical assistance to the backward class people in all states for promotion of small and medium scale industries.

The Commission also recommended that all State governments should be directed to enact and implement land reforms legislation so as to effect basic structural changes in the existing production relations.

**BJP, RSS Leaders Meet, Agree on Ayodhya Issue**  
91AS0028A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
27 Aug 90 p 9

[Words in italics and boldface as published; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 26 August. After a meeting of the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh] top brass here, to which senior leaders of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] were invited, these organisations are understood to have decided to continue to be firm on their demand on the Ayodhya dispute, even at the cost of rupturing the BJP's ties with the Government, should it come to that.

The unpublicised meeting of the RSS leadership, spread over two days, concluded here yesterday. Among those present were the RSS chief, Mr Balasaheb Deoras, who normally resides at the Sangh headquarters in Nagpur, Mr V. Seshadri, the RSS general secretary, Mr Bhausahab Deoras and Mr Dattopant Thengadi. Those invited from the fraternal organisations are believed to have included the BJP leaders, Mr L.K. Advani and Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, and Mr Ashok Singhal of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad.

The consensus was that the Government would not be allowed time after 30 October, the date already announced by the VHP, to make up its mind about what to do with the proposed construction of the 'Ram Janmabhoomi' temple at the 'Babri Masjid' in Ayodhya.

**Court verdict:** There is already a standoff between the Government and the BJP on accepting the court verdict on Ayodhya, the BJP's view being that courts cannot adjudicate on the issue of Ram. Mr Advani had said this a few days before Independence Day and the Prime Minister, Mr V.P. Singh, in his Red Fort speech was categorical about the Government's stand on abiding only by the court verdict, if no solution could be found across the table.

For some time a debate has been raging within the BJP leadership on how to deal with the Government on the Ayodhya issue. While Mr Advani, the party president, is broadly supposed to represent those who do not wish the Government to collapse at this stage, several others in the leadership are understood to be mentally prepared to abandon support to the minority National Front Government if it hindered the VHP's well laid-out plan to begin construction of the Ram temple on 30 October.

**Sanction for pulling down Govt:** In this context the RSS meeting assumes significance as it has virtually sanctioned the pulling down of the Government if the latter interferes with the construction of the temple in Ayodhya.

At a formal press conference after discussions with the RSS leaders, the VHP reiterated that the temple would be built according to scheduled plans. In fact, some of the religious steps associated with it would be gone through in September itself.

The RSS, fountainhead of '*Hindutva*' oriented organisations, pronounces itself sparingly. It goes into a huddle only when national debates become complex. Clearly, in its view, the Ayodhya dispute has reached one such turning point, involving as it does the possibility of the Government falling and subsequent elections, with unpredictable consequences for all political parties, including the BJP.

It is not that the BJP proposes to raise the Ayodhya issue in Parliament. But if widespread law and order disturbances occur, should the Government crack down on the temple-builders, the BJP leadership would come under pressure to withdraw support for the Government *suo motu*.

**Mandal report:** The Mandal Commission is not worrying the BJP at all, for it does not believe that it would divide the Hindus on the temple issue, even if the so-called backward and forward castes fight over it, one in support of the Government and one against. The Mandal report too is believed to have figured marginally at the RSS conclave, as did concerns like Punjab.

But the BJP leadership has been pulling up the Government on the Mandal report for three consecutive days. Last Friday Mr Advani took the Labour Minister, Mr Ramvilas Paswan, to task for his statements on the report. Yesterday, a BJP general secretary, Mr K.L. Sharma, said the Government went about announcing implementation of the report in too much of a haste, suggesting it was cobbling together an election constituency rather than solving a problem. Today, an all-India secretary of the party, Mr J.P. Mathur, has pulled up the Government.

He particularly took to task the Textiles Minister, Mr Sharad Yadav, for his reported statement that the 'backward' castes should take to the streets in support of the Government decision on the Mandal report. Mr Mathur said if Ministers began expressing such views, the law and order machinery would be encouraged to take sides in street conflicts, coming out in support of pro-Mandal agitators. The BJP secretary hoped the Prime Minister would take notice of Mr Yadav's statement.



## Papers Report Progress in Missile Development

### 'Akash' Test-Fired

91AS0034A Madras *THE HINDU* in English  
17 Aug 90 p 7

[Text] New Delhi 16 August—The test-launch of the solid-propellant booster for the medium-range surface-to-air missile, Akash, on 14 August marks another milestone in the country's Integrated Guided Missile Development Programme (IGMDP).

The booster was tested at the Interim Testing Range at Balasore, Orissa and flew till the CMDB (Composite Modified Double Base) solid-propellant burned out. This is the first time this very high energy propellant was used in the programme. The 25-km range missile is set for user trials by 1992.

The missile will have a ram-rocket second-stage. Besides the Soviet Union no other country has really gone in for this technology which envisages using atmospheric oxygen as oxidiser marking the trend towards high energy low volume missiles. Static tests on such ram-rockets have shown that they can generate energy-levels double that of conventional solid/liquid propellants.

There are two technological innovations in the system—the ram-rocket and the automated command-control and communications suite. The propulsion of the sustainer phase is through a ram-rocket. Between the first phase solid booster and the sustainer there are conversion motors and the first stage burnout take place in 2.5 seconds taking the missile to supersonic speed. Then in the sustainer phase the second stage ram-rocket draws air through intakes at high velocity and low pressure which is converted to low velocity high pressure oxidiser used to generate thrust.

The missile is to be designed for automatic command-control-communications between the batteries and the group headquarters. The "transportable" but not "mobile" missile will have a multiple-target handling capability and in a more advanced version could also have a limited capability against ballistic missile warheads. The fire control unit has a multi-target handling capability in its phased-array track while a scan radar is being designed to handle eight targets simultaneously. One battery of the missile will cover several hundred sq. km. of an area and be directed by a group headquarters which will be linked to the various batteries. The whole operation of target acquisition, identification, correlation, threat evaluation, prioritisation and assignment will be done at the group headquarters.

The materials used for the construction are high temperature materials and some carbon-carbon composites have been used as well as glass fibre-carbon composites impregnated with phenolic resins. The composite products with varying geometry have been fabricated using a programmable six-axis CNC filament winding machine.

The guidance system is being designed to use a combination of command guidance and terminal homing. The initial command-guidance would be provided by the group headquarters and then at the terminal stage it will switch on its own radar. The programme is also examining other terminal homing techniques as well. The system will also have the maximum degree of ECM protection. As it is, the frequency of the command guidance system is being kept high to protect against jamming.

According to Dr A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, Director, IGMDP, some three to four tests will be carried out this year and another four tests next year before the missile comes into deployment by 1993-1994. Recently the IGMDP tested the Nag third generation anti-tank missile rocket.

### UNI Reports:

"Akash" is expected to be inducted into service in the mid 90s, according to an official release. The Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) hopes to carry out eight or nine development trials in the coming years, with four slated for this year.

### More on 'Akash'

91AS0034B New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English  
16 Aug 90 p 6

[Words in boldface as published]

[Text] Bhubaneswar, 15 August (PTI)—India's most modern medium range multi-target surface-to-air missile "Akash" was successfully test-fired from the Interim Test Range (ITR) at Chandipur-on-sea in Balasore district yesterday, according to Dr A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, director of the Defence Research and Development Laboratory (DRDL).

Dr Kalam told PTI here today that with the launching of the missile "we have commenced the flight test programme for Akash, which consists of a series of nine flights over a two-year period."

"We hope to have four more flights of the system this year," he said. The "Akash", expected to go into deployment by 1993, was the first missile to be tested from the ITR since the launching of the intermediate range "Agni" technology, demonstrator on 22 May last year.

Dr Kalam said that the first flight trial of "Akash" was intended to prove the booster system. This time, the high-energy propulsion system was used in the missile but the next launch would have another propulsion system.

Meanwhile, a Balasore report quoting DRDO officials said that the "Akash" missile was launched at 1203 hours yesterday.

The district administration also did not have any information about the Akash launch, in contrast to the "Agni" experiment.

While the population of several villages in the vicinity of the ITR had to be temporarily evicted during the launching of "Agni" amidst a blaze of publicity last year, no such steps were taken this time, the report said.

The "Akash" is the fourth Indian-made missile after "Prithvi", "Trishul" and "Agni" to reach the flight-test stage.

Dr Kalam said that the surface-to-surface "Prithvi" and the multi-role, quick-reaction short-range, surface-to-air missile "Trishul" were already in production and would be inducted into the services by 1991-92.

Asked when the next launch of the "Agni" was scheduled, Dr Kalam said "we are preparing for that."

He said that through the "Agni" and the "Akash" test-flights were successfully conducted from the Interim Test range at Chandipur-on-sea, the national test range proposed at Baliapal would still be necessary. "It is only from Baliapal that the Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle (PSLV) can be launched," he said.

During his Independence Day address to the nation from Red Fort, Mr Singh congratulated Indian scientists for this remarkable achievement.

The trials for the multiple firing of Akash, which has a range of nearly 25 kms, marked a major milestone in the integrated missile development programme of the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO).

#### Plans for 'Nag'

91AS0034C Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 3 Sep 90 p 5

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Bombay, 2 September—Two key technologies, both in an advanced stage of development, will make "Nag" the world's first anti-tank missile with "fire and forget" capability.

The current development of "Nag" is a part of India's prestigious and highly successful integrated guided missile development programme (IGMDP).

According to the latest issue of ASTRA, the official journal of the Hyderabad-based Defence Research and Development Laboratory (DRDL) and RCI (research centre Imarat) a sister body, the twin technologies being developed for Nag's guidance are the "imagining infra red" system and the "millimetric wave radar."

The journal quotes the "Nag" project director, Mr N. Ramakrishna Iyer, as saying that these two technologies would make the missile a world-class anti-tank missile of the "third generation" and if the programme was completed as scheduled by the end of 1993, India would be the first nation in the world to produce a missile of this type.

"Nag" completed its maiden ballistic flight trials on 7 and 8 February this year. In the next series of flights, "Nag" would be fired from its launch tubes.

ASTRA states that a similar missile is planned for deployment by the U.S. in 1995 and by a three-nation European consortium in 1997. "The technology race is therefore on and 'Nag' the baby of the IGMDP programme in terms of size, may well be the missile by which India can set standards in this demanding area," the journal states.

The missile is being developed for deployment on tracked vehicles and helicopters. "Fire and forget" means that once the missile is launched, it seeks and destroys the target. This makes it a "third generation system." The "first generation system" are normally wire-guided missiles requiring the user to aim, fire and guide the missile to the target. The "second generation missiles" also involve human tracking, according to ASTRA.

According to the journal, "Nag" is capable of defeating all types of conventional and state-of-the-art reactive armours.

Meanwhile, for the first time, a naval technical group has been formed by the naval headquarters which is being established at research centre Imarat.

The group will associate itself with various aspects of the naval versions of the "Trishul" and "Akash" missiles and will act as a liaison cell between the naval headquarters in New Delhi and the development and production agencies, according to ASTRA.

#### Scientist on Progress in Defense Production

91AS0033A Madras THE HINDU in English 11 Aug 90 p 7

[Words in boldface as published; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 10 August—The Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) is to unveil its supercomputer, 'Anurag' which has been developed after five years of work. Disclosing this, Dr V.S. Arunachalam, the DRDO Chief and Scientific Adviser to the Prime Minister, said that the computer using parallel processing techniques had been developed by Dr G. Venkataraman and 10 other scientists in the DRDO complex at Kanchanbag, Hyderabad. According to Dr Arunachalam, the machine will be the equivalent of a Cray-1 supercomputer but will cost only Rs. [rupees] 30 lakhs.

Dr Arunachalam was speaking at a 'Meet the Press' function organised by the Defence Ministry's Directorate of Public Relations here. Providing some details of systems hitherto not available, the DRDO chief said that the multi-barrel rocket system (MBRS) christened Pinaca would have a performance better than that of the U.S. since it would have a range of 40-45 km.

Some seven test launches of the rocket had taken place but a full salvo and ripple fire test would be held later. Currently, the Prithvi and Trishul missiles were under production, he said.

**SAM test:** The test of the Akash medium-range surface to air missile with multi-target handling capacity was scheduled later this month or early next month 'weather permitting,' Dr Arunachalam said. He pointed out that the only comparable system would be the U.S. Patriot. Responding to a question he said that the phased-array radar to be used for the system had been tested with 2,000 transmitting elements, the full system would have some 4,000 elements. The technology for this radar would have applications in the Indian Airborne Surveillance and Warning Control System (ASWACS).

Dr Arunachalam said that while the media focussed on the major programmes such as the main battle tank, light combat aircraft and missiles, the DRDO was involved in dozens of other projects of considerable importance. Among those that had been completed were the APSOH (advanced panoramic sonar hull mounted) sonars, the Ajanta, an electronic warfare system, a modular data bus as well as the 'Tadpole,' a helicopter dropped sonar buoy, and these were being produced by public and private sector companies for the Navy. Current research focussed on towed array sonars and the DRDO had already successfully executed a pilot scheme with an array 200 metres long.

**Cluster bomb:** Similarly for the IAF [Indian Air Force], the DRDO had designed a cluster bomb which was now under commercial production. Work was being done on a runway denial system. But of course the major project was the light combat aircraft. It was expected to produce two prototypes through full scale engineering development techniques by 1995, Dr Arunachalam said. While the GE-F101 engine would be the interim powerplant of the LCA [Light Combat Aircraft], work was continuing on the GTX engine now christened 'Kavery.' The LCA would have three major technologies—the full composite wings, unstable configuration and fly-by wire systems that would make it agile.

Regarding the MBT project, Dr Arunachalam said that the BT Arjun would be fully capable of meeting a threat from tanks such as the M-1 which was likely to be acquired by some neighbouring countries. Problems relating to overheating that surfaced a year ago had been tackled and the engine-train had now done some 2,500 km. Six tanks had been ordered, two each with the Heavy Vehicles factory, Avadi, the Bharat Heavy Electricals and Bharat Earth Movers Ltd., to work out ways in which investment for the production could be minimised by using the spare capacity of these public sector giants.

**Resource crunch:** Dr Arunachalam said that it was important to understand the importance of the DRDO's activities since the country was undergoing a resource crunch. His plea to the country was to support such

programmes much in the way families carried on supporting their children's education despite budget crunches. "Investment in R&D is the only way to self-reliance," he added.

Dr Arunachalam said he fully comprehended the critical response of the user services to the products of the DRDO. This was a necessary part of the process and the Service chiefs had to work out solutions to their own problems. He claimed that he had never encountered resistance from the Services for a product that was good.

### **Supreme Court Reserves Judgment in Bhopal Case**

91AS0029A Madras THE HINDU in English  
30 Aug 90 p 4

[Words in boldface as published; quotation marks as published]

[Text] A Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court today reserved judgment after conclusion of the hearing in a group of connected petitions of Bhopal gas victims seeking review of the Court's orders of settlement of \$470 millions in the Bhopal gas leak disaster case.

Along with these review petitions, some connected writ petitions against the orders of settlement were also heard.

The Chief Justice, Mr Sabyasachi Mukherjee, Mr Justice Ranganath Misra, Mr Justice K.N. Singh, Mr Justice M.N. Venkatachaliah and Mr Justice N.D. Ojha constituted the Bench.

The Attorney General, Mr Soli Sorabjee (appearing for the Union of India in support of the review petitions), in his reply argued that there should have been no question of quashing criminal proceedings concerning the Bhopal gas leak disaster under the impugned orders of settlement. He submitted that quashing of criminal proceedings could only be done upon fulfillment of legal prerequisites—which was not done in this case.

The Attorney General also submitted that some time last year, that is after the Bhopal gas leak disaster on the night of 2 and 3 December, 1984, the U.S. multinational Union Carbide Corporation (UCC) became a new company. "The plea in this regard was that this vital change of circumstance in the legal existence of UCC should be taken into consideration on the consequential orders, if any, that might be made on the question of the return, etc. of \$470 millions if the orders of settlement were ultimately set aside in these review petitions."

He said the Supreme Court should have heard the Bhopal gas victims prior to the orders of settlement. Therefore, he submitted that the settlement orders were bad in law for want of compliance with this requirement.

**'Opportunity given:'** Mr F.S. Nariman, senior counsel, appearing for UCC and UCIL [Union Carbide India

Limited] (in support of the court's orders of "settlement") said that in the hearing of the review petitions, the court had given enough opportunity to the victims and others concerned to present submissions on the question of reasonable settlement. But till date, no accurate figures regarding the number of persons injured in the disaster and nature of injuries were furnished by those including the authorities concerned.

He argued that there was no legal obligation on the Supreme Court to hear the victims in connection with the orders of settlement.

Ms Indira Jai Sing, senior counsel, appearing for gas victims, urged that there was no factual, rational and legally acceptable basis for the settlement orders. She argued that the orders were not valid as they did not indicate the legal principles that governed the 'liability' of UCC and Union Carbide India Limited (UCIL) in respect of the disaster.

Mr Vibhuti Jha, appearing on behalf of gas victims argued that the victims were not against the settlement as such but against the manner in which the orders came to be passed. He pleaded that the orders also were opposed to the principles of natural justice.

## IRAN

### Tavakoli Editorial Details Rafsanjani's Year in Office

90AS0430A RESALAT in Persian 25-27 Aug 90

[25 Aug pp 1, 12]

[Text] Part One: This year we begin Government Week at a time when one year has elapsed from the age of the government of His Excellency Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani. Perhaps the best present which can be offered to the public servants in the government would be a critical review and evaluation of the work carried out during the past year. Although this kind of work will need more time and information, in this article we will try to detail a portion of this important issue. For this reason, we will focus our attention on two topics, the economy and foreign policy.

In the area of foreign policy we witnessed two great victories for Islam, the revolution, and the people. The two subject-matter manifested a God-given victory for the people for whom their pace-setters rely on principles and at the same time have the knack to make the best of the opportunities as well.

The first case is the issue of the cursed Salman Rushdie and our relations with the British Government. The righteous and saintly decree of Imam Khomeyni even gained the approval of those Muslims who have for many years become used to Western culture. The vitality of this otherworldly decree, at first led the superficial dominance of the West versus Islam into consternation and amazement and then into weakness, and finally as a

result of withstanding its grounds, Iran, in the era of the imam and after his death with regard to defending its righteous demand, changed the position of the West to one of submission and humiliation. This submission, whether arising from a viewpoint of fear or greed, indicates the power and value of Islam and the Islamic Republic.

Particularly, the change in position and the backing off of the British Government after the issuance of the historic decree for the execution of Salman Rushdie by the imam, is significant for the following reason: At first, they were seeking the annulment of the imam's decree. Thereafter they asked for a change in the decree, and finally when they could not bear enough pressure to meet their demands, asked for the release of all the British hostages in Lebanon and that of their spy in Iran, named Cooper. The responsible authorities of our foreign policy kept their grounds and insisted on the imam's decree and the Islamic Consultative Majles' resolution, calling the British demands irrelevant. Finally, the British foreign secretary and the prime minister announced the following positions:

- Respect for Islamic values and the honorable history of Islam.
- The book of Salman Rushdie is considered blasphemous and insulting.
- The British government and its people had no role in the writing and publication of the book THE SATANIC VERSES and thus they should be considered exempt from the content of the book.

If the government had not differentiated between fundamentalism and revolutionary honesty with the simple-mindedness and pretention of the revolution, one can quite assuredly state that this victory would not have come about so fast and perhaps the revolution and Islam would have met with failure. It is quite clear that the support of the Muslim nations of the world for imam Khomeyni's decree, the power of the theocratic position, and the vitality of the Majles have each had a role in bringing about this victory.

The second case was the great God-given victory—which was the issue of holy national defence. The Islamic nation of Iran fought for eight years for the victory of God's religion and it did not withhold from sacrificing its blood, its life, and its wealth. Finally, God's victory manifested itself in a new form, and the proud nation was honored while the enemy became despised. One day an aggressor tore up the 1975 treaty and attacked the Islamic territory, and another day he proclaimed that the treaty was valid and thus withdrew the remnants of his troops from our land and our prisoners of war returned to their own country proud and respectful.

There is no doubt that the main cause for this great victory was the perseverance of the heroic nation of Iran; however, prudence and the philosophical efforts of the responsible authorities of the country are like the final

touch to the finish of a delicate game. First, the courageous president, where it was necessary to accept the proposal for negotiations between the two countries, at the level of the two nation's experts, and answering Saddam's letters during the last few months, created a new trend in the peace process and with the permission and discretion of the leader of the revolution, did not hesitate to answer the calls. Secondly, throughout the process of negotiations, he kept close contact with the advisors and counselors and finished the work in a careful manner. Thirdly, he did not mix up the correct utilization of opportunities with the traditional impetus of the opportunist in the world of politics and continued to stress all the principles he believed in.

The government of Mr. Hashemi showed in action that it follows the principles laid down by the great leader of the Islamic revolution in the area of foreign policy, namely the principles of honor, wisdom, and expediency, thus God rewarded him with the great victory for the nation for his honest action and sincere reliance.

[26 Aug pp 1, 12]

[Text] Part Two: In the last issue we pointed out our government system's success in the area of foreign policy. God willing, the recent victories will also have significant results both on the political and economic issues of the country as well.

The success of the five-year socio-economic and cultural plan to a large extent will depend on the favorable domestic and foreign political conditions. The end of the imminent situation of "neither war, nor peace" with the acceptance of all the Iranian claims, the independent position of the Islamic Republic with regard to the issue of Iraqi's invasion of Kuwait, clarification of the Islamic Republic's right in the war with Iraq, the weakness of the West in combatting Iraq on the ground, strengthening of the system with regard to the issue of the execution of Salman Rushdie and the backing off of the British Government, etc., all are auspicious events which will secure more favorable conditions for the implementation of the five-year plan.

The first condition for the success of any socio-economic and cultural plan is the existence of political stability in the country. The perception of this kind of stability on the international scene will prepare the grounds for the necessary cooperation needed for the realization of the plan. From the domestic viewpoint, the manifestation of fundamentalism and the wisdom of the responsible authorities have helped to enhance public confidence, thus it has rendered the pressures of the opposition groups who were against the socio-economic measures of the government as futile.

Transformation of the former sick economy will require a longer period for healing. Clearly, the increase in public confidence will likewise increase the forbearance of the people to implement the five-year plan, and this matter will inevitably lighten the burden of the government. The other effect of the aforementioned successes in the

country is the attraction of cooperation of the strata who will need to see further stability and strength in order to put their own expertise to use or make investments by utilizing their own financial resources. The same result can soon be seen in our foreign relations as well. It is obvious that the foreign exchange needs of the program for foreign credits and the implementation of the plans concerning the transfer of technology in the first program, will be easier under existing circumstances.

The president, during this weeks Friday prayers analyzed the country's economic situation during previous years and after the implementation of the policies during the past year, thus there is no need for me to elaborate on this. However, we can point out a few indicators:

The government's continuous enormous budget deficit, which was mainly a result of the government's extensive interference into economic affairs, comprised the principal root of the illogical cash supply of the private sector. An intensive increase in the cash supply, which came about as a result of printing money without gold or foreign exchange reserve, was similar to an unjust tax levied on the poor strata of society. A decrease in investment and production had also created a reduction in supply in comparison to the total population needs, while the concentrated governmental distribution did not help to alleviate the situation. The totality of these factors together with the theoretical fundamentals of Islam, which encourages the people's participation, were all the roots of the economic transformation on which the late imam as of 1363 [21 March 1984-20 March 1985] stressed and which was manifested in the form of the plan.

Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani at the end of Khordad 1368 [22 May 1989-21 June 1989], while introducing the members of the cabinet to the Islamic Consultative Majles, promised a change in the past policies and procedures based on the imam's line. A careful look at the government's accomplishments during the past year shows relative successes in achieving part of the promises. The first important step towards accomplishing the promises was an effort directed at correcting and completing the five-year plan bill which was eventually approved by the Majles and as of 11/11/68 [31 January 1989] guided the action of the government.

The measures taken by the government to control some of the unfavorable conditions of the past towards the sanctioned goals of the five-year plan are worthy of praise. For instance, the reduction of the budget deficit from 2,024 billion rials in 1367 [21 March 1988-20 March 1989] to 1,137 billion rials in 1368 [21 March 1989-20 March 1990] and yet further to 250 billion rials for the first four months of 1369 [21 March 1990-22 July 1990] which is even less than the reduction forecast in the 1369 budget. This matter alone has caused the reduction of the cash supply from 23.8 percent in 1367 to 19.5 percent in 1368. With due control of the cash

supply in the first few months of 1369, the need for printing money has ceased to exist.

These measures are implemented at a time when the government's policy, like a double-edged sword, has acted against inflation. While the government controlled the growth of demand through the reduction of the growth of the cash supply, it created a new vitality in the wheels of production, thus increasing the supply of goods and employment as well. The statistics on the increase of production and growth of exports both testify to the veracity of this claim.

A control of demand while limiting the growth of the cash supply and a relative increase of supply, caused the already accelerated inflation engine to decelerate. Namely, in the past, the momentum of price increase every year was more than the year preceding it. But right now, although on the whole, the price of goods keep increasing, yet in each period the momentum of price increase is less than the period before that. The statistical figures indicate that the rate of inflation has decreased from 28.9 percent in 1367 to 17.4 percent in 1368, and similarly during the first four month of 1369 [21 March 1990-20 March 1991] this downward trend has continued.

Of course, we have not had any success in certain other areas which will be discussed in the future issues.

[27 Aug pp 1, 12]

[Text] Last Part: In the last two issues we discussed the government's successes in the area of domestic and foreign policy and in the encounter with economic hardships. Also, we touched upon the actions and efforts of the government to improve the economic status of the country and at the end we stated that the government did not quite succeed in certain important affairs as had been promised. Now we will discuss three significant cases as follows:

1. While describing his general policies for last year before the Islamic Consultative Majles, the president stated: The active presence of the people in the social, economic, cultural affairs, without their decisive and constructive opinion, is not going to be fruitful. Therefore, the execution of the fundamentals of the Constitution with regard to public participation in determining their active cooperation for the realization of the programs, will be dependent on their freedom. (Footnote 1) (RESALAT 23 Aug 1989)

There is no doubt that the participation of the people must first manifest itself in the form of their mental and suggestive cooperation. Without the existence of an atmosphere where all the individuals can put forward their views for the progress of the society, we will never be able to find the correct path. Certainly, the expression of views and comments must be within the framework of the interests of the system and Islam and in conformity with the general policies of the leadership. If the government does not ask for public opinion in every major

issue before making the final decision, seeking superficial and sketchy comments or views which tend to enhance publicity will never become effective. With the great aspiration of the esteemed president, this important drawback must be eliminated as soon as possible.

2. The execution of any program requires certain tools. One cannot implement a program of socio-economic and cultural expansion which has been based on the comprehensive participation of the people, with the present system of would-be chieftains which is not based on the serious presence and participation of the people.

The existing government organizations suffer from various ills: The salary inadequacy, which results in an ever-increasing depletion of the work force, intense overemployment and redundancy of bureaucratic departments, non-functional concentrated organizations, together with the high rate of the current budget, abundance of superfluous and encumbersome regulations, corruption, bribery, etc.

Of course, last year most of the government's effort was aimed at eliminating part of the corrupt and incorrect regulations, which is in itself appreciable. Furthermore, certain decisions have been made to increase government employees' salaries, part of which has been implemented and the other parts will be executed as of the second half of the current year.

First, this action in itself and by itself is not good enough. Second, before taking action to reduce the size of an organization to a logical or reasonable format and transfer the economy there will be an extra influx of work, which in turn causes an increase in the current budget and eventually affects the budget deficit of future terms as well.

3. The issue of transferring non-strategic public sector plants to the people, which is one of the main building blocks of the policies in the five-year plan, has yet remained unresolved and no serious step has been taken so far. From 997 public sector units, 377 units have less than 100 employees while 369 units have between 100 to 499 workers each, and 146 units employ between 500 to 999 workers. (Footnote 2) (Statistics of Large Industrial Plants under the Management of Public Sector—1986; excerpted from census of 1366 [21 March 1987-20 March 1988], Census Bureau of Iran.) In the bill pertaining to the program which was enacted in the last days of the previous government, all of the units which have less than 2,000 employees or their investment, based on principal agreement not at a daily cost basis is less than 20 billion rials, have been classified as non-strategic and thus are transferable to the people. Furthermore, even part of the share of the mother-plants and the strategic plants have been called transferable to the people as well. (Footnote 3) (Amendment One of the first socio-economic and cultural program bill, line seven, paragraph one-10 Industrial Ownership. Plan and Budget Organization, Mordad 1368 [23 July-22 August 1989].)

Now if we consider even some more stringent standards, at least 892 plants from the public sector, which have less than 1,000 employees, can be assigned or transferred to the people. As a result, we can use the revenues thus earned to repay part of the government sectors 1.4 billion toman debt to the banks. It should be noted that this enormous debt is the main source of the harmful increase of the private sector's cash supply and the cause of the rift between the various strata. Unfortunately, so far no proper action has been taken to remedy this situation. Some officials consider that the execution of this policy should be dependent on the creation of cost equilibrium, even that of the foreign exchange, while any delay in the execution of this policy would be contrary to the plan, since one of the factors attributed to bringing about equilibrium is the process of transferring the plants itself. One can certainly predict that there will not be any equilibrium soon, and in reality, by making the act of transfer dependent on the creation of cost equilibrium, we create a hindrance to the very process of equilibrium.

This measure has the following advantages:

- It liberates the governmental management from partitioning and dispersion, and while lightening the government's burden it will enhance the administration power of the mother strategic industries.
- The management of non-strategic industries, as has been experienced by man, if run by the non-governmental sector will greatly increase productivity.
- It will reduce the present government's obligation with regard to price-fixing, and similarly the matter of price-fixing will be changed in the manner as intended by the approved program. (Paragraph Five, page 56, book of Program codes)
- The private sector's cash supply for the production field will be realized more quickly.
- Under the present circumstances, where it is hard to secure foreign exchange resources for investment purposes, without the sale of governmental plants, transformation of the private sector's assets from non-productive services to productive ones will not be feasible at the predicted rate of growth.
- It will not be possible to reduce the existing cash supply without pooling together the astray money supplies. This program has even been neglected in the five-year plan and no source of revenue has been taken into consideration in order to repay the enormous government debt.

This devastating cash supply will thus be reduced immediately. Right now the government's effort focuses on the reduction of the growth rate of the cash supply and not the decrease of its quantity. Of course, we must know that the policy of selling competitive foreign exchange basically can not work, since the earned revenues will be pumped back into government expenditures. Clearly, this method is much better than borrowing from the Central Bank.

This action will demonstrate the government's resolve in turning over to the people certain responsibilities and will likewise enhance the people's confidence in engaging in new investment activities.

By giving priority to the employees of each unit and that of the government for purchasing the shares of the plant in question, we will witness an interest in productivity as well as an improvement of the status of the government's salaried employees.

Competition between the non-governmental units sector, while increasing the supply, will also effect the monopoly of distribution as well. These are the kind of monopolies which are very detrimental to the new policies of productivity.

Although in economic affairs, as is its nature, and as a result of its habitual chronicity, quick resolution of the problems seems very difficult, yet we hope that each year the new government will be more successful than the year before in serving this patient and devoted people.

#### **Majles To Review New Unemployment Compensation**

*90AS0468A Tehran ABRAR in Persian 26 Aug 90 p 3*

[Text] News Service—Based on a bill submitted to the Majles, whose single-urgency status was also approved, workers employed in various economic sectors will be covered by unemployment insurance.

Seyyed Habib 'Ajayebi, deputy minister of labor for social affairs, announced the above yesterday at a press conference. He said: Changes have also been made in the latest bill, including an extension in the length of time for receiving the insurance payments.

He added: Depending on the insurance premiums they have paid, workers may draw unemployment for six to 36 months if they have become unemployed unwillingly. Likewise, the unemployment insurance payments will be 55 percent of what is determined to be their average wage or salary.

Concerning the importance of implementing the Unemployment Insurance Law, he said: With the implementation of this law, Principle 29 of the Constitution providing for support of the unemployed and workers will be realized. On the one hand, by assuring that the wages of workers will not be cut off, it will help the managers of production units and economic planners in their planning to be able to change the structure of production units or move them in the framework of the government's policies, or to increase production.

The deputy minister of labor for social affairs discussed the results and accomplishments of the Unemployment Insurance Law during its test period. He said: During the test period, 37,337 persons applied to use this law, of whom 28,982 were referred to the Social Security Organization to receive benefits. 'Ajayebi discussed measures



taken by the unemployment staffs in the earthquake-stricken areas of Gilan and Zanjan. He said: In one month 632 production and economic units which were closed because of the earthquake were identified and as a result 5,978 of their workers were given unemployment insurance coverage, and the total paid to these people (regular payments made in the months of Tir and Mordad [22 June-22 August] was 553,306,000 rials.

## PAKISTAN

### President's Promise of Fair Elections Doubted

90AS0450A Karachi JANG in Urdu 27 Aug 90 pp 3, 10

[Article by Irshad Ahmad Haqqani: "President's Assurances"]

[Text] President Ghulam Ishaq Khan has reiterated his decision to hold general elections on 24 October of this year. The elections would be free, fair, and impartial. The decision of the people would be honored and accepted with open mind and open heart. The president gave these assurances to former prime minister and co-chairman of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], Benazir Bhutto, who met the president at her request. The president considered Benazir's doubts and fears concerning a free and just election to be groundless. He defended the appointment of special accountability tribunals and assured Benazir that she would not be subjected to character assassination nor would her supporters be harassed or pressured illegally in order to gather evidence against the former government. The president dismissed the demand for the establishment of interim governments under the supervision of speakers on the grounds that the speakers represented the majority party and their appointment would be open to the charge of bias. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan is an experienced man of the world and he would have no difficulty providing arguments in support of any stand that he takes. The assurances that he gave former prime minister Benazir Bhutto, if studied carefully, are not as weighty and irrefutable as they appear at first sight. The president said that if speakers were placed in charge of interim governments, accusations of bias could be made because the speakers also represented the majority party. Even if the president's argument is accepted, one would still be justified in asking whether the president had no other options available in forming an interim government. He could easily have found people who were acceptable to all sides especially since he could have added the condition that these individuals could not participate in the elections. Individuals who were qualified to administer the affairs of an interim government for two or three months could easily have been found among the retired bureaucrats, judges, and even politicians. Seekers, finders. If the president had looked beyond the circle of politicians opposed to the PPP, he would have easily found individuals and teams acceptable to all circles. On the contrary, the individuals who have been selected are all avowed opponents of the PPP.

It is easy to say that these individuals will not take advantage of their position as heads of ministries because "elections are conducted by the election commission." But a man of the world such as the president cannot be ignorant of the innumerable advantages accruing from office and power. In a country such as Pakistan, where the tradition of political loyalty is not yet strong, the advantages of being in office on an interim basis cannot be overlooked.

The president referred to the 1988 elections and said that those elections were fair and that several ministers had suffered defeat even though the interim governments were composed of the opponents of the PPP; thus, the fairness of the present elections should not be doubted. The president's argument appears to carry weight; but who can say whether the results of the November 1988 elections would have been any different of the interim governments had not been in office? The election commission is undoubtedly in charge of the elections, but to deny that holding office confers many advantages would be to deny the facts of life. It is very clear that after having delivered a lengthy and one-sided charge sheet against the PPP government, the president has for all practical purposes assumed an adversarial position. He has deliberately appointed PPP opponents as members of interim governments on the federal and provincial levels; and as Benazir has pointed out, he has even indulged in horse trading in regard to Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar and Jam Sadiq Ali. The president's assurance that the people's decision will be respected is commendable; but his actions should not either directly or indirectly influence the people's decision and it is the president's responsibility to ensure this. In view of the present realities, one cannot say that this responsibility has been fully carried out.

The president has defended his action to call for an accounting and has termed the law establishing special courts a legacy of former president Fazle Illahi's term of office. This law is in fact not a legacy of Fazle Illahi's term of office but the legacy of a martial law administrator's term of power. The Bhutto government did not raise an objection to the law because no occasion had arisen to invoke it and the Bhutto government itself had no question of doing so at any time. The government was protected in any case by the eighth amendment, which the PPP did not want to abolish. How unfair and biased an action it is to use this law against the PPP members and ministers can be gauged by the recent statement (in Peshawar) of Qazi Hussain Ahmad, the head of Jamaate Islami, who announced that the members of the interim government would be called to account first.

Realizing the weakness of the unjust action of calling to account only the PPP, Sayeda Abida Hussain, caretaker minister of information, felt obliged to say, "Not just the PPP, but all of us will be called to account." But she did not specify when she will be called to account, who would do it, and what the procedure would be. Obviously, no one is going to call any non-PPP leader to account before 24 October and all individuals included



in the interim governments have been placed above accountability. If special courts are to be established for investigation and accountability, then it should be determined also as to what individuals should be included in this investigation. How can impartiality be claimed if only the 20 month term of office of the PPP is chosen for investigation and only members of the PPP are to be called to account? Non-PPP individuals holding office in the provinces are exempted in this matter as well. In spite of all this, it is still being claimed that everything is being done and will be done impartially.

The president has assured Benazir that no act of vengeance or illegal action will be taken against anyone. But what of the efforts being made to obtain information by means of encouragement, bribery, and threats from former government employees arrested in Karachi? Doesn't such action come under the definition of reprisal? The government should deny, if it dares, the incident mentioned by Benazir Bhutto in which 10 million rupees were offered to an individual. If the government cannot deny this charge, then how can it claim that there will be no reprisals? What would the events in Nawab Shah be called? How would one describe the arrests of those individuals who ran against members of the Jatoti family in the last elections? If these are not reprisals, then how should one define reprisal? In view of these facts, what importance can be attached to the president's assurances to the former prime minister?

The president has also given assurance that the government controlled communication media will not be used for the character assassination of PPP leaders. But when a certain report was made public, and a certain individual involved in it then demanded compensation, upon which the former premier gave notice to Pakistan television, doesn't the telecast of this come under the definition of character assassination? The president told the former prime minister that she did not set a good example in the use of the electronic media. In view of the caretaker government's performance, the president's recrimination is not true because during the PPP's term of office, media coverage of the opposition was better than the coverage being given now to the former government. Last Sunday, Benazir addressed a large press conference composed of about 150 internal and international journalists. The conference was given a 40-second audio coverage on television but no pictures were shown whereas in the same bulletin, 23 1/2 minutes were devoted to the audio and video coverage of IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] and COP [Combined Opposition Parties] news. What right does a government have which behaves in this way to point an accusing finger at its predecessor? The government should also be asked why it is committing the same actions, several times multiplied, for which it criticized the PPP government? The government should set a better example than the PPP did so that matters move forward and no future government dares to take such retrogressive steps.

In spite of the president's assurances, it is quite clear that every possible retaliatory weapon is being used against

the PPP, and to the loud beat of drums. If the interim government considers itself justified in this behavior, it should continue what it is doing but no person in power should claim that he is carrying the standard of justice and impartiality.

### Elections: Unity Said Essential To Defeat PPP

90AS0423A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 27 Aug 90 p 3

[Column by Abdul Karim Abid entitled: "Siyasat Namah" ("Political Letter")]

[Text] Who will be the victim of the political wrath of Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar, federal minister of water and electricity? This question is being discussed vigorously these days. Some people believe that the resurrection of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] will result in the division of its votes. The IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] will benefit if even 14 percent of the 34 percent of PPP votes go to Mr. Khar. Other people believe that the PPP vote is solid and all will go to Mrs. Benazir. It is believed that Mr. Khar's dramatics will not influence them. However, some votes would be lost because of personalities and various alliances. It is possible, as Mr. Khar has claimed, he has the support of some real power brokers. He is hopeful of getting a high position either in the federal or a state government. The informed sources, however, do not give much credit to Mr. Khar's boasts. Mr. Khar has presented a theory that the PPP cannot be broken by a dissenter group. Only the former PPP workers can achieve the goal of preparing a new 1990 model of the PPP. Mr. Khar has also assured us that if he gets our support, all the "uncles" of the party will be behind him. However, during the recent party convention in Lahore, Mr. Khar's claim was proved to be wrong. None of the older party members participated in this convention. Dr. Mubassar Husan had issued a statement praising Mr. Khar a few days ago. However, he did not participate in this convention either. We can call this convention a total failure from this perspective. It is obvious that Mr. Khar has no influence on Punjab's politics. However, Mr. Khar's joining the PPP caused a lot of problems for Mrs. Benazir Bhutto and the PPP. Mrs. Nusrat Bhutto was right about this. She had said that Mr. Khar should not be admitted into the party. However, Benazir thought she could use Khar to hurt Nawaz Sharif. Nawaz Sharif was not hurt at all, but the PPP tried to throw its own embarrassment upon others. All these efforts only made the PPP look even worse, and all efforts to cleanse this blemish have failed.

The Khar affair is a trifle. If Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was involved in the present situation, he would not have been able to hurt Nawaz Sharif. Mr. Nawaz Sharif is not a person, he is an institution that all PPP members respect. His political influence is greater than that of Jamaat-i Islami. He has problems with the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], Akbar Bagti, Junejo, Iqbal Ahmad Khan, and Aijaz Alhaq. However, this is not something that cannot be taken care of. People who want the Muslim League to win, know very well that if the IJI

is gone and there is no alliance among the PPP detractors, then it will be the PPP and not the Muslim League that will win. The Muslim League is not a party which has only one leader and is revered by everyone. The PPP has that kind of leadership; the Muslim League does not. The Muslim League members are fighting with each other in every district and constituency. If a separate platform is formed for the Muslim League, it would mean that the factions will be fighting with each other. The IJI is very effective, and it will help the inner strife of the Muslim League to be kept under control. The IJI's influence will keep this inner strife where it is. All this will help start a campaign to fight the PPP. The Muslim League will be able to remain united in such an environment. If there is no platform under the name of IJI, then there will be no unity, and the Muslim League will fall asunder. Therefore, the IJI is imperative for the unity of the Muslim League.

As for Mr. Junejo, he is a gentleman. He is cut away from his mentor, Pir Pagara, and he could not get along with Ziaul Haq. However, he should work closely with the new wave of Ziaul Haq supporters. This will not help him keep his position strong in Sindh. Mr. Jatui considers him a thorn in his path that can hurt his feet, if not a rock which can block his path. Mr. Junejo himself has never really accepted Mr. Jatui. He also has let everyone know that his health is failing, and he is suffering from a dangerous blood disease. He can not be very successful, and he never really impressed the people much anyway. He had become a minister because of General Zia's kindness. Pir Pagara also helped him. Pir Pagara's capital was lost, but he did earn some interest on it. That is why he does not consider Junejo a bad investment. Under these circumstances, Mr. Junejo should understand that he can not play a major role in Pakistan's politics. He was fortunate enough to play one role, and that should be enough for him. He should not expect any more. However, Mr. Jatui should be, and has been, given an interim opportunity to prove himself. Let us see if he succeeds in breaking the PPP stronghold in Sindh. Second, will he be able to build a political base in Sindh by uniting the rural and urban political groups. He will be tested during this interim phase. It would be premature to say that he will pass this test. His failure would be bad for the October elections, and might result in a new rebellion. Some people believe that a rebellion is imminent. They think that the interim government is an interim affair. It is just a little time to take a breath of relief, then the army will emerge the new and real program. Whoever will speak on television at that time will lash out at the government and the opposition's failures and corruption. We hope that the political groups will work together and that Mr. Jatui is successful in his effort, and holds elections. The anti-PPP groups can win only if they are united. Mr. Nawaz Sharif, the former Punjab chief minister, himself has said that if they are united, then the PPP would not be able to get even 25 or 30 percent of the seats. If the PPP manages to win 25 percent of the seats in Punjab despite a united opposition, then it would be able to win a lot more if

there is none. The most dangerous problem is posed by the landlords in the Saraiki area. The landlords are solidly behind Benazir. All the minority groups will also go for the PPP. However, Begum Aabida, Itia Inayat Allah, Murtaza Poya, and many other Shia personalities are with the IJI. The Shia voters are generally in favor of the PPP. Other liberal and secular factions also sympathize with Mrs. Benazir. However, the incidents that took place in Sindh during the last 20 months have affected even Punjab badly, and the liberal and secular elements there are very angry and bitter with the PPP. The competition is very hard. The PPP does not have to prepare much for this campaign, as it had made all the plans during its government. In addition, their goal is to collect votes by using blind faith in a family and a person. These votes are already there; they have neither increased nor decreased. Meanwhile, other opposition parties are suffering from internal strife being fought in every district, city, and village. They must work hard to become united, and must impress upon the people that this unity is not temporary, but will continue. This unity is a must to run the government effectively. The circumstances favor unity; however, one must do a lot to take advantage of the situation, and all this must be done very quickly.

#### **IJI, Other Alliances Advised To Overcome Disunity**

90AS0423B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 27 Aug 90 p 3

[Editorial entitled: "Disunity Is Already Here"]

[Text] There are only two months left before the general elections. It is no secret that these elections will be fought between the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad]. The IJI's unity is a question mark now. The Muslim League is thinking about breaking away from this alliance. According to a news source, it was decided in a general meeting of the Muslim League held in Islamabad that instead of making this alliance stronger, the Muslim League should use a different election symbol than the IJI is using. It was learned that this strategy is being used to pressure the IJI. The candidates who fail to get IJI tickets will run for election under the Muslim League's symbol, the lantern. The Muslim League leaders who get the IJI ticket will declare in their election banners that they are affiliated with the Muslim League party. Efforts will be made to make sure that the presence of Muslim League leaders is felt in all election rallies. Mr. Iqbal Ahmad Khan, secretary general of the Muslim League party, told the Voice of America in an interview that the Muslim League party can win 90 percent of Punjab's seats if it breaks away from IJI. He added that most Muslim League members believe that running for elections in an alliance is not a good idea. The Muslim League is considered to be the only party that can confront the PPP in the elections. Mr. Iqbal Ahmad Khan, while talking to journalists in Islamabad, said that no decision was made in the public meeting of the Muslim League party to keep the Muslim League within the IJI. In an

answer to another question, he said that it was not possible to say at this point if a new alliance was being formed.

All this is giving us an idea of where the Muslim League is heading. We got the impression recently that the unity that existed among the Muslim League ranks has gone to pieces. In addition to the confrontation between Mr. Junejo and Mr. Nawaz Sharif, it was learned that the Muslim League is under the illusion that it can win the election by itself, and does not think it is necessary to carry the weight of other political parties who will also want to share power if they win. The Muslim League is greatly mistaken if it thinks that this is true. Because of its internal strife and nearsightedness, the PPP was able to form a government in Sarhad, even though it has only a few seats. The PPP will benefit again from this uncertainty and misunderstanding. The PPP managed to form a government in many places, despite alliances among many political parties. Now if they decide to run individually, then the PPP will benefit more than ever. The Muslim League party, which claims to be able to win 90 percent of the seats, will be left empty-handed. It is strange that all the extremists and criminal elements are thinking of uniting behind the PPP leadership, and here among the other parties all unity is going to waste. There are still two months left, and God knows what will happen by the time elections take place. There is a clear defection over the General Fazal Haq affair. The PPP is focusing on Punjab now. If the Muslim League does not work smartly, then it will lose Punjab. Any PPP government, as a result of this, will not be easily unseated. It appears from listening to Iqbal Ahmad Khan's talk, that he is thinking about another alliance. However, this alliance will meet the same fate that was met by the alliance formed by Maulana Noorani and Asghar Khan.

#### **Corruption Rumors Said Circulating About Interim Ministers**

90AS0423C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 27 Aug 90 p 3

[Text] After the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government was dismissed, interim governments were established at the center and in the states as a constitutional necessity. The main purpose of these governments is to plan and hold elections within 90 days. However, these ministers know that they have to leave soon. It is an open secret that the PPP government was dismissed because of corruption and extreme activities. It appears that some of these caretaker ministers have decided that they should earn as much as possible during these brief periods. A state minister filed a request for a loan of 6.5 million rupees just a few minutes after taking the oath of office. What this means is that he wants to earn millions of rupees during these three or four months, because the PPP government ministers made billions during their 20 months in the government. This is just one example, and it is possible that there are many other artists who are taking advantage of this opportunity. However, only the PPP will benefit from such actions. They are saying, What if we are corrupt? Are the others honest? It is the

common people who will suffer. They wonder whom to trust, since the whole lot are dishonest. We believe that it behooves the president to keep a close watch on the interim government. Otherwise, his own honesty and sincerity will be suspect.

#### **Sedition Charge Against Benazir Termed 'Outrageous'**

91AS0004A Karachi DAWN in English 31 Aug 90 p 12

[Text] Islamabad: The average age of our Senators is well past superannuation, representing a blend of experience with age—past masters of all tricks of the political trade. But on Thursday, they were taken by surprise by the reports that one of the charges against the ousted Prime Minister could well be sedition—dealing with Rajiv Gandhi against Pakistani interests.

But deep down, these old guards of the non-party system, know that the Establishment would not dare to bring such a charge against a recently ousted, but fairly popular Prime Minister unless they were sure of providing fool proof evidence.

"There is a talk in relevant circles that a tape recording of a secret Benazir-Rajiv discussion while he was in Pakistan for a visit, is available with the powers that matter and that may be the trump card against Benazir," a fairly knowledgeable Senator observed.

If the Senators know it, Benazir must also be knowing it and her strong reaction to the DAWN report on Wednesday means she takes the charge seriously. In her reaction, she has attacked the President directly and has described the charge of sedition as "outrageous."

As the Senate was adjourned for lack of quorum, for the third time in two days, many were discussing the options available to the politicians as well as the Establishment in the grand battle of wits and will that now seems to begin shaping up in the coming weeks.

"Accountability is going to take its time," observed one. "So there have to be more pressing things to attract the attention of the masses and disqualification under sedition charges could well be one way out.

The decision-makers, it seems, have realised the irrelevance of the Senate session in view of the grave things that may be in the pipeline. So after just one more sitting on Sunday, it would be called off.

Accountability, however, remains that hot topic and its versions and interpretations are available a dime a dozen. Caretaker Ilahi Bakhsh Soomro says in his ministry, he needs at least a month to bring out corruption cases. Information lady caretaker, Syeda Abida Hussain, thinks no defence lawyers are needed by those who claim to be national leaders, although an amendment in the relevant law has provided for them.

But together with accountability, Abida believes people outside the country should also be informed about the

deeds of the past regime and insiders say a corps of newsmen is being prepared to travel far and wide to do the job. But some of the earlier columnists who were contacted have apparently declined politely. These include the renowned Mr Ardeshir Cowasjee, his secretary Ms Amina Jilani, one of my colleagues who does not want to be named, and probably (excuse me if I am wrong, because there is no time to cross check), Dr Maleeha Lodhi.

Yet a team would go and may include well-known names of the media. The fellow newsmen would, however, find the job difficult if Ms Bhutto keeps on bringing all-time PPP [Pakistan People's Party] critics like Air Marshal Asghar Khan to her political fold, giving her some respite from the all-round flurry of attacks.

Some responses to these columns may be relevant here. An angry Asif Ali Zardari enquired on Wednesday at Air Marshal Asghar Khan's residence: "Are you now happy that we have been booted out. This is what you wanted," he told me.

In a polite but slightly lamenting mood, Finance Minister Sartaz Aziz said in the Senate lobby: "It is not fair that you accuse me of sitting on a Rs [rupees] 500 billion economic patronage lever. No one can accuse me of even using a pencil in an irregular way."

His grouse apart, the Finance Minister tactfully handled a complicated issue inside the House on Wednesday when Jamaat-i-Islami Senator Prof Khurshid wanted a policy change regarding Gadoon Amazai, the pet project of NWFP's [North-West Frontier Province] Aftab Khan Sherpao. Aziz did not commit anything, but left the issue open, until the businessmen themselves decide how to resolve it, so that both sides are satisfied.

On the dissolution debate, when the next session of the Upper House meets, it would be the third consecutive day on which Prof Khurshid would be speaking. An angry Senator, who has been waiting for his turn, remarked: "He is going to say everything against the PPP, leaving nothing for me. I will not make my address now."

One minister I wanted to talk to on Wednesday desperately was the latest convert to the Caretakers' fold, Kazi Abdul Majeed Abid. His comments on his son-in-law's views would have been relevant and in the best tradition of balanced reporting. But the whole evening he was away and at 11:30 p.m., when I tried his residence for the last time, Kazi Sahib was asleep. So let us wait until he is available.

#### **'Sedition Charge'**

Ms Bhutto has strongly reacted to the news reports that a special cell at Aiwan-i-Sadr in the federal capital is preparing a sedition case against her for trial in a special court.

Expressing her "shock" over what she described as "outrageous report" carried by Daily DAWN in its Thursday's issue that a sedition case was being prepared against her and former Interior Minister Aitzaz Ahsan, Ms Bhutto asserted: "Any such reference by the President would mean that, after having sacked the democratically-elected government on spurious charges which he could not substantiate even after more than three weeks, he was now seeking new means to eliminate the leadership to secure his objective of imposing a government of his choice on the people of Pakistan."

She declared, in a statement: "Any such act would make the President directly a party to the political dispute in Pakistan."

Ms Bhutto said the allegations were not only "false and outrageous" but "indicate the kind of desperation which has seized the Presidency and the caretakers." "To plant stories attacking the patriotism of the former Prime Minister and the leader of the largest political party, and of any of her colleagues is an insult to the sentiments of those millions of patriotic Pakistanis who voted her into power as the Prime Minister."

The former Prime Minister pointed out that "at no stage did the President level such a charge when she was in power." She said the President had neither mentioned this allegation in his 6 August speech, which included a "plethora of unsubstantial charges," nor during the last three weeks. "For 20 months he maintained a silence which has now been broken by inspired stories to add to the "smear campaign against the former prime minister of Pakistan," the statement added.

She said the PPP strongly condemned this new conspiracy to defame the elected leaders of this country and pointed out that the caretaker government had "failed to deliver the goods in the matters of national interest and miserably failed to do anything for the oppressed people of Kashmir and to support their struggle."

#### **Commentary Calls for 'Credibility in Accountability'**

91AS0005A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English  
7 Sep 90 p 4

[Article by Farhatullah Babar; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The stage is almost set for the commencement of trial of public representatives by special courts. According to newspaper reports, the charge-sheet has already been completed and former prime minister Benazir Bhutto and her interior minister Aitezaz Ahsan will be tried for allegedly "passing sensitive information to India." Benazir has said she would not submit herself before special courts and has offered to stand trial in High Courts under the normal law of the land.

A constitutional petition has already been filed in Peshawar High court against the validity and legality of

special courts and it would not be proper to comment whether they rest on any legal or constitutional basis. Their legality or otherwise is now for the courts to determine. What may, however, be relevant is to examine its political implications in the context of President Ishaq's and Prime Minister Jatoi's repeated assurances that polls will be held on 24 October in a free and impartial manner.

When the dismissed prime minister told the President in her meeting with him on 20 August, that the Constitution already provided for ways to deal with errand members of parliament and that the new election rules providing for disqualification of candidates were extra-constitutional, she was promptly reminded that the laws were not new and had actually been enacted by the former president, Mr Fazal Illahi Chowdhry. She was told that the law still remained on the statute book as the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government had done nothing to change it during its 20-month rule. PPP supporters argue that because of the limitations imposed by the Eighth Amendment, a hostile Senate and their razor-thin majority in the National Assembly, the PPP government could not undertake serious legislative business. They also argue that since Benazir did not take recourse to this law to deal with her political opponents because of its perceived inconsistency with basic norms of justice, it places her on high moral ground to protest against its being applied now against PPP leaders.

Benazir has also challenged the official claim that the disqualification laws had actually been initiated by the late Bhutto's government. She insists that it was in fact a Presidential Order promulgated by General Zia in late 1977 to harass and intimidate the PPP leaders. But all this is only of academic interest and does not detract from the fact that the accountability process has already been set in motion.

There can be no two opinions about the need to try and punish corrupt and unscrupulous politicians. Lack of credible and prompt accountability indeed has been at the centre of rampant corruption among politicians and bureaucracy. The word 'accountability,' however, has lost much of its credibility when it was perceived to have been exploited by the late General Zia in consort with some politicians to defer twice the promised elections and to prolong his rule. A great deal of effort would be needed to restore the word its credibility. In deed, nothing less than the credibility of President Ishaq and his promise to hold free and impartial elections on 24 October is at stake in the process.

A patently obvious source of corruption among the politicians which has come to surface during the past 20 months is the impunity with which they change their political loyalties. Both the PPP and IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] politicians indulged in it freely. A classic example of switching loyalties was provided by the leader of the IJI parliamentary party in NWFP [North-West Frontier Province]. He first moved the Election Commission under the Political Parties Act to proceed

against the 10-odd members of the IJI forward block in the NWFP Assembly who had joined the PPP government of Aftab Sherpao. A few days later, in a dramatic change of heart, he himself announced his support to Aftab Sherpao and said that his reference against the IJI forward block members had become infructuous. His switching of loyalty had saved the Sherpao government from imminent collapse at that time. That would not have been possible without some serious lacunae in the Political Parties Act.

The people are averse to this kind of horse-trading and change of political loyalties overnight. Before the ouster of PPP government, both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif had reportedly agreed to plug loopholes in the Political Parties Act and to link floor-crossing with the member's losing his seat. The only difference which remained to be resolved between the two pertained to the date of applicability of amended rules. Now that the Assemblies have been dissolved, the date of applicability is no longer the issue. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan has also publicly expressed his views on this subject. So, why not promulgate an ordinance and make the Political Parties Act foolproof? It should be the first duty of the newly elected parliament to pass the law making floor-crossing impossible for members who have been elected on party tickets. Any member doing so should be deemed to have lost his seat to which fresh elections should be held. This would be the single most important and credible step to root out corruption among public representatives.

Apart from this, three questions need to be answered to lend credibility to the process of accountability. First, why confine the process to the last 20 months only. It will be difficult to explain why public representatives elected as recently as in 1985 are not being subjected to accountability. Public memory may be short but many still remember how General Zia booted out on 29 May, 1988, the government and the national assembly on charges of massive corruption and malpractices. It is only reasonable to expect that they too are tried for alleged malpractices.

Second, it will have to be clarified whether accountability for misdeeds during the period of the past 20 months will be confined only to PPP or it will also cover the non-PPP governments in the Punjab and Balochistan. And if it covers both PPP and non-PPP members, who is going to file reference against, say, the former chief minister Punjab, Mian Nawaz Sharif, the main political adversary of Benazir. The caretaker Chief Minister Ghulam Hyder Wyne or the caretaker Prime Minister—both of whom belong to Nawaz Sharif's camp? Indeed, Mr Jatoi owes his position as COP [Combined Opposition Parties] leader in the National Assembly and by corollary the prime ministership to Mr Nawaz Sharif. And if the PPP leaders are allowed to directly file references against IJI stalwarts, will they have access to relevant documents and record?

Third, will accountability cover only the conduct of politicians and public representatives, or other elements and areas normally not treaded by politicians will also be covered? For instance, will defence purchases and the disbursement of civil and military foreign aid to Afghan Mujahideen during the last decade be also brought under the accountability process?

The setting up of special courts may or may not be perfectly legal and constitutional as the judiciary will now find, or the relevant law may have been actuated by late Bhutto or General Zia. That is not the issue. The real issue now is whether these courts are also politically acceptable to lend credibility to accountability. In the words of an eminent jurist and former judge of the Supreme Court, Mr Dorab Patel, "it (special courts order) contains some provisions which are contrary to the principles for the proper administration of justice."

He said that jurists all over the world were now against the setting up of special courts. In his view the special courts are vested with wide powers to prohibit the publication of documents placed before the and that there are no guidelines for the exercise of this power. He has suggested that the accountability process must be continuous and not come to a halt with the elections, and that public representatives be tried by high courts consisting of the same judges who have been nominated to the special courts. There is a great deal of merit in his arguments.

Information Minister Syeda Abida Hussain says that accountability will be meaningful. Chasing a 'meaningful' accountability is like chasing 'positive-result' elections. Both are not only vague and elusive but also smack of suspicion. It is crucial that the promised elections are credible and throw up an acceptable political leadership. Short of this, polarisation of our body politic is bound to increase with disastrous consequences not only for democracy but for our very survival. Only credible accountability and not seecopy means [as published], can prevent further polarisation.

### Commentaries Offer Perspective on Elections

#### Dangers of 'Accountability'

90AS0429A Karachi AMN in Urdu 21 Aug 90 p 3

[Text] The representatives of the caretaker government are trying to assure the people that the elections will definitely be held as scheduled. One reason for this assurance is that the whole nation and every political party in the country wants elections. If the elections are not held as scheduled, the nation will not tolerate it at any price. This is why the representatives of the caretaker government are trying to reassure the people again and again that the elections will be held as scheduled at any cost, and that the elections will be fair and free. In addition to this, the process of accountability will also be continued. If people are not held accountable for their actions, then dismissing national and provincial assemblies and ministries becomes meaningless. As far as the

process of accountability is concerned, some circles are of the opinion that since the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] is still the largest party in the country and that no other party can compete with it all by itself, attempts are being made to prevent its leadership from participating in the elections. The belief of the adversaries of the caretaker government is also supported by the remarks of the prime minister that Benazir Bhutto's participation in the elections depends on the decision of the courts. He made these remarks during his interview with BBC. The second reason apparently is that the United Opposition Front is still the victim of dissension and differences, although the Front during its two day session has unanimously decided to appoint nominees from 307 National Assembly electorates and all four provincial assemblies. Despite this, there isn't complete unanimity among them, especially the Fazlur Rahman group of Jamiat-i Ulama-i Islam and the Awami National Party of Wali Khan do not have identical views. The leader of every political party dreams of becoming the prime minister. Differences existing between them in matters such as foreign policy and economic affairs lead to the conclusion that the United Opposition Front will not be able to compete effectively with the PPP despite joining ranks. Because of these concerns, efforts are being made to sow the seeds of discord among the PPP ranks or to form a parallel People's Party. Since there are still two months left before elections are held, it cannot be said with certainty how far the efforts to create a rift in the PPP ranks will succeed. As for accountability, its actions, its goals, and its sphere of influence are concerned, there are no two ways about it. The whole nation wants the dishonest people to be made accountable for their deeds, but the question that arises is who will do the accountability and for what period of time. The representatives of the caretaker government say that they will continue to hold elections and accountability side by side. If the United Opposition Front which comprises the government comes to power, the process of accountability will continue to proceed. The caretaker government's interior minister, Mian Zahid Sarfaraz, claims that the amount of corruption that occurred during the past 18 months is unprecedented in the 43-year history of Pakistan, from its establishment to the present day. If these misconducts are not accounted for, then dissolving the assemblies becomes meaningless. As a matter of principle, there is no room for disagreeing with the stand taken by Zahid Sarfaraz, but the question remains as to who will undertake to do the accountability. Will it be done by people whose pasts are themselves subject to accountability or those people whose pasts are free from any blemish. When will the accountability start. Crime is crime irrespective of who commits it. If the process of accountability were to be limited to 18 months, then it becomes impossible to reject the claim of the opponents of the caretaker government who say that accountability is being used as an excuse for avenging themselves. Former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, while addressing a mammoth gathering, expressed her views saying that the largest and former ruling party does not trust the impartiality of the caretaker government. They

believe that the caretaker government, under the pretext of accountability, will avenge itself and try to prevent her and her colleagues from participating in the elections. She challenged the truth of the allegations against her government and said it is now 13 days since the representative government was dismissed and that the caretaker government so far has not been able to come up with any proof. By keeping the government officials under illegal detention and by bringing about pressure on them they are being forced to give statements against her government. Begum Benazir Bhutto accused the prime minister and other ministers of the caretaker government of grave misconduct and asked the president whether the officials included in the caretaker government were made to account for their actions. On this basis, she demanded that the present caretaker governments should be terminated and in their place neutral governments be installed after consulting with the speakers of the national and provincial assemblies so that an impartial government should hold fair and free elections in the country. Whether or not we agree with her suggestion, no person in his right mind will differ with her view that impartial, fair, and free elections should be held as scheduled. If partiality is shown and elections are not fair, then a very large number of people in this country will not accept the results of the elections.

#### **Special Court's Disqualification Powers Viewed**

*90AS0429B Karachi AMN in Urdu 22 Aug 90 p 3*

[Text] The other day, in unequivocal terms, Pakistan's president assured the former prime minister and co-leader of the country's largest and former ruling party that impartial, free, and fair elections will be held on 24 October. While Pakistan's president was assuring the former prime minister, the federal government announced the formation of special tribunals and rules and regulations under the 1990 Naval Act for conducting hearings on charges against the former members of parliament and provincial assemblies and that those found guilty would be declared unfit. Under these regulations, the Pakistani president and the provincial governors will have the power to give references in the special tribunals against the former members of federal and provincial assemblies. The president can appoint one or more people to assist the special tribunals, and their appointments cannot be challenged in any court. They will conduct regular hearings on the references in the special tribunals every day. If for legal purposes it is considered necessary to postpone the hearings, then under no circumstance can the postponement period exceed two days. This makes it clear that the federal government is determined to complete the process of accountability before holding the elections. To fulfill the demands of fairness, the special tribunals together with the details of misconduct can issue notice asking the defendants to present themselves in the court. In case the notice cannot be served, then other means like the gazette and newspapers may be used. The defendants may have an attorney, but they will have to advise the authorities in advance. The federal government issued

this press communique in connection with the Unworthiness of Membership Act of 1977. Casting a casual glance at the federal government's related press communique, it appears that the federal government wishes not only to complete the task of accountability as soon as possible but at the same time, by fulfilling the demands of fairness, would like to take impartial action against people taking advantage of their position or misusing their powers.

If this is the government's goal, it is praise-worthy. According to observers, analysis of the rules and regulations issued by the government reveals that the goal of these regulations is not what it appears to be. According to these observers, the most objectionable part of the whole affair is giving the right of reference only to the president and the governors. Now it is up to their expediency to present references against any person they please. They can ignore any person if they so desire. The observers believe that the process of accountability will be one-sided, whereas the number of nudes in this bath is very great. Just as Pakistan's president clearly stated in his speech of 6 August that both party, the one in power and the opposition party, had been horse trading and that it was a fact that the members of the national and provincial assemblies, which included members of both the party in power and the opposition party, had reportedly committed a number of irregularities. For example, a number of members reaching the assembly hall after being elected on any party ticket have changed parties and affiliations and gained government positions. Not only were the people taking such actions but also the parties who accepted such treacherous people should be made to account for their actions. These observers believe that the main purpose of the laws and regulations governing the issuing of such "show cause" notices is to harm the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] members, because many responsible members of the party including Hakim Ali Zardari are out of the country and this makes serving "show cause" notices to be served on them and especially making them appear in the court very difficult if not impossible. As such, by virtue of the regulations the special tribunals are authorized to make one-sided decisions.

It is true that the decisions of the special tribunals are not considered to be the final word, and appeals can be filed in the supreme court against their decisions, and their decisions can be reversed. But if the special tribunals approve references against some people and declare them unfit for membership in the national and provincial assemblies and the individuals concerned file appeals in the supreme court and if they are approved, with great difficulty even then the people concerned can be deprived of becoming members of the national and provincial assemblies. Besides this, the current regulations cannot be challenged in any court.

In view of the above-mentioned facts, the question of accountability itself has become controversial. The apprehension that the PPP may boycott the elections cannot be ignored. The PPP is the largest political party



today as much as it was yesterday, this is a universally accepted fact. If it does boycott the elections, the elections will be held but the status of the assembly as being representative of the people will always be shrouded in doubt. Similarly, the government that will thus be formed will lack credibility both inside and outside the country. If the results of the elections are not accepted, then its consequences are not known. Pakistan is a very poor country and, because of the situation in the Middle East, the clouds of serious economic danger are looming overhead. Under these circumstances, Pakistan cannot afford the luxury of holding elections every now and again.

### **New Anti-PPP Alliance Said 'Unprincipled'**

90AS0429C Karachi AMN in Urdu 22 Aug 90 p 3

[Column: "From Jumma Khan's Pen"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The formation of the new Election Alliance, under the complete supervision of the caretaker government, proves that this alliance was not formed on the basis of political principles or political policies, and the sole purpose of its formation is to prevent the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] from achieving victory in the elections. Before imposing martial law 13 years ago, General Ziaul Haq had the same goal in mind—that is to ensure that the PPP does not get the opportunity to rule the country once again. To attain his goal, he also deprived the party for ever of the leadership of its chairman, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto "Shaheed" [martyr]. For 11 years, he endeavored to destroy the PPP. But after 11 years, when the people got the right to vote, they decided to choose the PPP. But after 20 months, they were once again deprived of the right to rule. To accomplish General Zia's mission, all the political parties have now united just as they had united at the time of starting the civil disobedience movement against the Bhutto government and imposing martial law. If the elections are held at the appointed time, then all the results of this new alliance will come up this year and whatever is to happen during the last decade of the 20th century, their effects too will begin to appear too. For various political and religious parties, who have differing views on the political, religious, economic, and military problems, to unite just for the sake of enmity against the PPP is not a good omen, because due to such an alliance in 1977 a very lengthy military dictatorship was imposed on the country.

Many political observers believe that the new elections will be contested between the two "martyrs". On one side there will be the people who declare chairman Bhutto a "martyr". One is called the "Quaid-e-Awam," that is the leader of the people because he was elected ruler on the basis of democratic principles. The other is called the man of righteousness, the man of faith, even though he usurped power in the darkness of night by unfair means. Some international observers believe that if elections are held on 24 October then it will be a confrontation between the supporters of totalitarian

regime and supporters of democracy. On one side will be the people who started the movement against the Bhutto government and on the other side will be the PPP all by itself.

Gen. Zia had promised to hold elections within 90 days, but did not do so for 11 years fearing that the PPP would win the elections. As long as he lived he did not think of elections, but when he disappeared from the scene and elections were held on a party basis, the PPP came back to power. After only 20 months it was forced out of office and a new united front was formed, and it was put on trial all over again. Now, the whole world is eagerly watching to see what new miracle the Pakistani people will come up with after two months.

### **Commentary Views Pre-Election Alliance Maneuvers**

91AS0004E Lahore VIEWPOINT in English  
6 Sep 90 p 13

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Apart from the incessant cry of accountability of what the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] and their bureaucratic supporters call the most corrupt and inept government in the history of Pakistan, the other distinctive political features in Islamabad are rumours and reports of alliances. Sleuths of the Care-taker Government are busy browsing through files to unearth corruption and preparing 'foolproof' cases against the deposed Prime Minister and her Ministers.

Fed by official agencies, newsmen who have the ear of the Care-takers and the bureaucrats behind them are publishing stories apparently to substantiate the charges levelled against the deposed elected government by the powers that be.

But much confusion still surrounds the whole process of accountability. The Care-taker Home Minister, Mian Zahid Sarfraz, has said that the FIA [Foreign Investment Board], which is investigating allegations of corruption against the dismissed Federal Government, had no jurisdiction over provincial departments, and it was up to the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] to file cases against the ex-IJI Government in the Punjab if it so wished.

However, Care-taker Information Minister Syeda Abida Hussain said in Lahore on Monday that investigations were also being carried out against the former provincial governments. She emphasised that the process was an entirely judicial one and would be impartially carried out.

Whether the Care-takers will take the same kind of initiative against Mr Nawaz Sharif and his associates as against the Benazir Bhutto administrations nevertheless remains open to doubt.



Statements of an extremely personal nature also continue to be made against the former Prime Minister and allegations levelled in the Press without substantiation.

At a gathering of women organised by Qari Khushi Mohammad, a great favourite of the late Gen Zia who was overly patronised by PTV [Pakistan Television] and Radio, Syeda Abida Hussain termed Ms Benazir Bhutto as that beautiful woman who was given to putting on lip-stick, covering her head with a white dupatta and talking of the poor. What has the use of cosmetics to do with politics, observers ask. Incidentally, Syeda Abida Hussain has also started covering her head with a dupatta. She made the same statement in a TV programme. Rumour-churning machines are working overtime in the capital. Who is churning out the rumours? Is it to test the efficacy of these behind the rumours? Is it to spread confusion? Spreading confusion and uncertainty is in the interest of undemocratic elements. They thrive under autocracies. During the 1977 PNA [Pakistan National Alliance] movement against the elected government, there was a flurry of rumours. One rumour current in the capital is that deposed Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and dismissed Interior Minister Aitzaz Ahmed may be tried for passing on State secrets to India. There is some speculation that this may as well be the "surprise" that the Care-taker Interior Minister is talking about.

Casting aspersions on the patriotism of their adversaries is the favourite pastime of a certain brand of politicians. They have assigned to themselves the right to issue certificates of patriotism. They have always supported dictators and their cohorts and in the process minted money. Their doings have led to the suppression of civil liberties, trade unionism and, above all, democratic institutions. They have never talked of invoking constitutional provisions against those who brought martial law in 1977 to topple an elected government and subverted Constitution.

The Care-taker Prime Minister is busy roping in influential families to support his regime. He has succeeded to some extent in winning over at least a part of the Makhdoom of Hala's family. A one-time critic of Mr Jatoi when he headed the Sindh PPP, Makhdoom Khaliquzzaman, since his break with party Co-Chairperson Benazir Bhutto, accepted Mr Jatoi's invitation to meet him here. The outcome was the induction of the younger brother Shafiquzzaman in the Care-taker Cabinet. Likewise, the Care-taker Prime Minister is keeping in contact with the influential families in the Punjab and COP [Combined Opposition Parties] leaders as well as with the former MNAs [members of National Assembly] belonging to the PPP. The PML [Pakistan Muslim League] which was almost on the point of quitting the IJI is back in the fold. Going by the stories making the rounds here, some VVIP's [very very important persons] are said to have affected the patch-up between the warring sections in the PML. The other factor that helped in bringing about reconciliation between the various groups of the PML was the fear of the PPP. Of

late, more and more leaders in the PML are getting convinced that though Ms Benazir Bhutto has been forced out of power, she not only enjoys mass support but is also winning sympathy from outside her party. Some of the wielders of power are waking up to the realisation that the Khar factor has failed to divide the PPP rank-and-file.

The doings of the Care-taker Government are driving away enlightened sections of society from the IJI-COP combine. The Care-takers had little credibility when they were installed in power through the back-door by the bureaucratic coterie. Now, observers feel, almost a month after their installation, the Care-takers stand thoroughly exposed.

Various Government departments and corporations have started shunting out the young people who were given jobs during the Bhutto period. Discrimination is being meted out even in this respect; some have been dismissed but others who had the right connections in the Care-taker Government have escaped getting the sack. A number of doctors, just to cite one example, were dismissed from the Children's Hospital in the PIMS [expansion unknown] even though they met all the necessary qualifications and basic conditions. On the other hand, others who were junior to them were allowed to work because some of them were well-connected. Even IJI Senator Khurshid Ahmad has been forced to protest against this.

### **Commentary Warns Accountability May Prove 'Self-Defeating'**

*91AS0005C Karachi DAWN in English 13 Sep 90 p 5*

[Article by Maleeha Lodhi; first paragraph is DAWN introduction]

[Text] Whichever way one looks at it, a tentative conclusion that can be drawn is that accountability conducted in a partisan framework and in the sharply polarised situation that Pakistan is again in today, can prove to be self-defeating.

Despite the announcement of a schedule for elections, an air of uncertainty hangs over the country's political future. Although there are fewer doubts today, compared to a month ago, that elections will be held on time, public scepticism has grown about the nature of this electoral exercise.

The way the accountability process has unfolded has raised questions about whether the deposed Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and other key PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leaders would be disqualified from contesting the polls. And if so, whether their absence would erode the credibility of the 24 October elections. These doubts have been reinforced by the two references filed against Bhutto in the disqualification tribunals on Monday, accusing her of abuse of authority in awarding contracts (in a cotton export and a consultancy deal).

The establishment's dilemma appears to be the same that it faced in 1977: how to hold elections while keeping Bhutto out. But this time round the establishment seems to have locked itself into a rather tight schedule. Between now and 24 October, election preparations have to go ahead along with the process of accountability, but the latter has to ensure that Bhutto and her colleagues are sufficiently discredited in the public mind to prevent her party from winning again.

Nobody, however, doubts that in a country where accountability serves as a political instrument to tarnish or eliminate opponents, (a tradition that goes back to the days of PRODA [Public and Representative Offices Disqualification Act] and EBDO [Elective Bodies Disqualification Order]) it is politics not morality that motivates the current official passion for accountability. This impression is strengthened by the one-sided nature, so far, of the accountability process.

Nevertheless, this process raises a number of key questions. The most important from the establishment's point of view is whether this will have its intended effect: discredit and therefore knock Bhutto out of the political game and split her party. Will proceedings against her and a number of former ministers significantly affect the PPP's vote bank, which between 1977 and 1988 has remained at the same level—constituting roughly 39 percent of the electorate? If perceptions are often more important in politics than reality, will the party's supporters remain unmoved by corruption charges regarding these to be part of a witch-hunt?

Not to be overlooked is the fact that Pakistan is a country of two political cultures, where urban middle class sensibilities may be outraged by evidence of corruption in high places, but where the rest of the population is quite indifferent to a phenomenon they see all around them. In this context, the political impact of corruption trials can be fairly limited. And in a highly polarised situation like the current PPP vs the Rest line-up, it is likely that one side of the political divide, perceiving itself under political attack, will refuse to acknowledge any truth in the charges leveled against its leaders.

The shaky manner in which accountability has been implemented so far, has, in fact, made its political effects more uncertain. First, a kind of trial by public opinion was attempted via regular leaks to the Press. Then a delayed process of referring cases against former ministers to tribunals was initiated. Some of these were so weak-based as to risk turning controversial figures into virtual martyrs.

Meanwhile, the rhetorical overkill by members of the caretaker cabinet who often contradicted each other but blamed everything evil under the sun to Bhutto appeared self-defeating, especially since words were not matched by evidence (e.g. allegations of treason levelled by an

Interior Minister who has quickly become an embarrassment to the new government).

All of this conveyed an impression that the establishment had not been as well prepared as the President's 6 August charge-sheet against the PPP government had everyone believing at the time. Moreover, the exaggerated nature of the charges and the composition of the caretaker team itself seemed to undermine the credibility of the accountability exercise from the very outset. The subsequent delayed and unsure moves compounded the problem and resulted in a loss of the initial momentum created by the President's speech.

There are three ways of looking at the outcome so far. First, the bungling theory. Miscalculating how difficult it is to collect hard evidence that makes charges stick, the establishment, or those responsible for accountability, have been blundering their way through. The result so far: loss of credibility, and, of course, vital momentum. The second way of looking at what has happened so far is to attribute this to an establishment that is divided about how to proceed.

There could be differences within the civilian establishment and between the civil and military components of the establishment. Certainly, military officials have been distancing themselves from post-6 August developments, quietly criticising the caretaker administration and also saying had they anything to do with the situation, they would have handled it with "some finesse."

The third interpretation does not see any bungling or division but a deliberate effort to build psychological pressure, step by step, and then fire the real salvo.

It is too early to say whether the references against Bhutto are in fact the actual salvo. Many observers recall the 1977 scenario to support this view, arguing that ostensibly uncertain moves were a deliberate prelude to the real, and very certain blow.

Already one element of what could unfold as a broader tactic is apparent: tightening the noose around the ex-Prime Minister's husband and then her to achieve the strategic objective: politics without Bhutto.

Whichever way one looks at it, a tentative conclusion that can be drawn is that accountability conducted in a partisan framework and in the sharply polarised situation that Pakistan is again in today, can prove to be self-defeating. Worse, the politics of accountability can trivialise the very real charges of corruption, with selective accountability actually rewarding political rogues.

The lesson of Pakistan's history, which is sadly ignored, time and again, is that political opponents have to be defeated politically and that the unhindered exercise of the vote is the best mechanism to achieve accountability. When this is interfered with, the country is saddled with ghosts and martyrs that haunt and perhaps even distort its politics for years to come.